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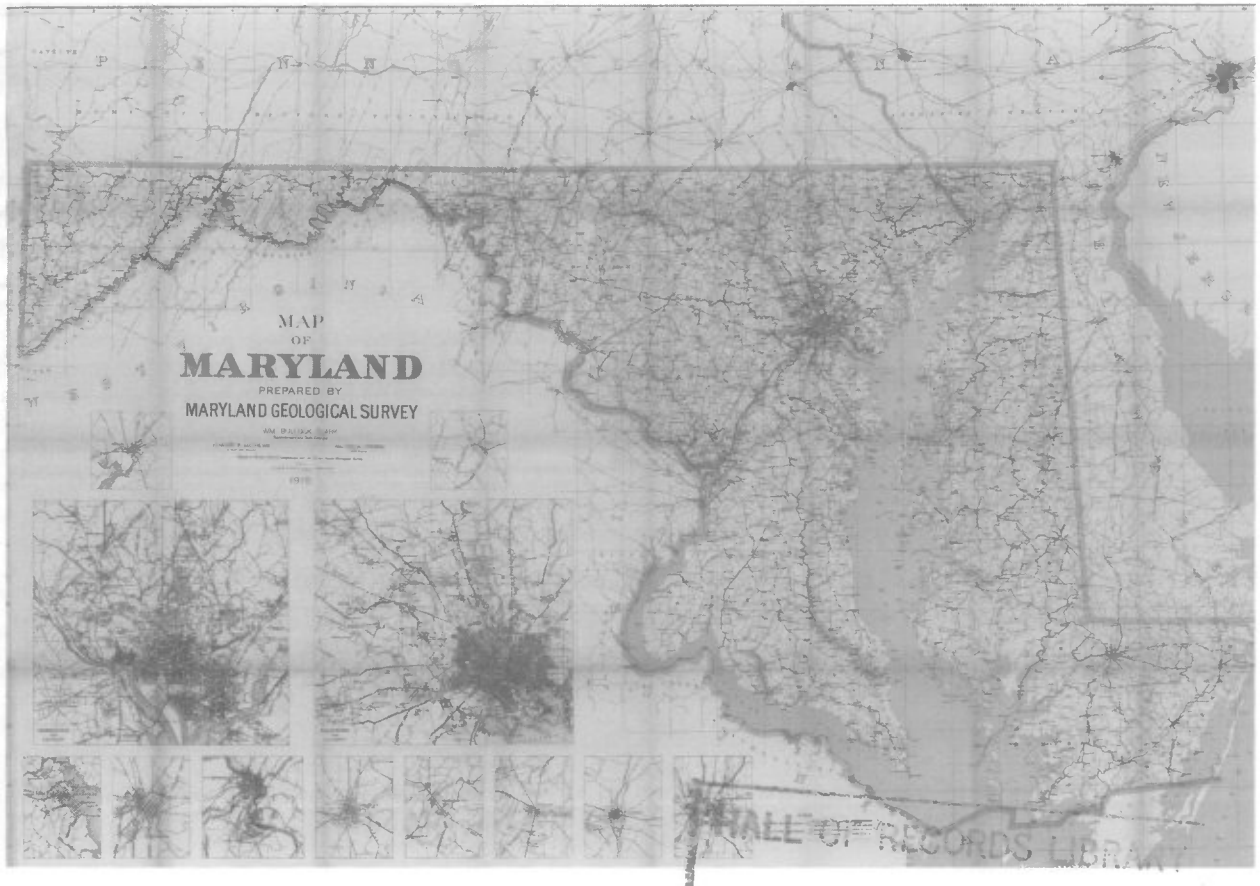
MARYLAND
Historical Magazine



Centennial Edition

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors and letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space and clarity. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Address Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. Include name, address, and daytime telephone number. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch disks (MS Word or PC convertible format), or CDs, or may be emailed to rcottom@mdhs.org. Guidelines for contributors are available on our Web site at www.mdhs.org.

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CENTENNIAL EDITION

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Cover: *Maryland Geological Survey, Maryland 1910 [MSA SC 1427-1-2771], Edward C. Papenfuse and Joseph M. Coale III,* The Maryland State Archives Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608–1908 *(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).*

Editor's Notebook

Salem on the Patapsco

At the turn of the last century the *Baltimore Herald* sent a neophyte reporter named Henry Louis Mencken to the South Baltimore waterfront to learn the newspaper business. Along the five or six miles of wharves, grain elevators and railroad yards, and in the dark and dangerous streets, Mencken saw his first "murderee" and covered his first fire. In short order he "broke in" and learned how to write the news, but not in precisely the way his editors intended.

Together with another youngster, this one working for the *Sun*, Mencken fell under the tutelage of the *American's* Leander J. de Bekker. One day, over schooners of beer in a waterfront saloon, de Bekker wondered, "Why in hell . . . should we walk our legs off trying to find out the name of a Polack stevedore kicked overboard by a mule?" Awed and under the influence—"Unhappily," Mencken wrote, "the beers of those days, especially along the waterfront, ran only a dozen or so to the keg"—the younger men gawped as their pot-bellied, bearded mentor elaborated. The police, de Bekker said, would not bother to ask for the victim's name, and would then only guess at spelling it. "Moreover, who gives a damn *what* it was? . . . The important thing here," he insisted, ". . . is that the manner of his death was unusual—that men are not kicked overboard by mules every day. I move you, my esteemed contemporaries, that the name of the deceased be Ignaz Karpinski, that the name of his widow be Marie, that his age was thirty-six, that he lived at 1777 Fort Avenue, and that he leaves eleven minor children." The next day, all three papers printed the story, substantially embellished because the three did not leave the bar right away. Their editors were delighted with their reportorial precision. Competitors were impressed and alarmed, and an era of Baltimore journalism, if not born, was at least invigorated. "Thus, in my tenderest years," Mencken recalled in *Newspaper Days*, "I became familiar with the great art of synthesizing news, and gradually took in the massive fact that journalism is not an exact science."

If his memoir is to be believed, Mencken playfully "synthesized" the news with other reporters, including the *Sun*'s one-day-to-be legendary Frank Kent, as his career ascended to the City Hall beat, and then to the managing editor's desk at the *Herald* in time for the 1904 fire. In that office "my own talent for faking fell into abeyance. . . . in fact, I spent a large part of my energy trying to stamp it out in other men." Until, that is, May 1905, when the Russo-Japanese War lured him out of ethical retirement. For weeks, managing editors had been receiving alerts "from Shanghai, Hongkong, Foochow and all the other ports of the China coast," that a great naval battle was to be fought in the "Korea Straits," but day after day nothing happened. "Like any other managing editor of normal appetites," Mencken recalled, "I was thrown into a sweat by this uncertainty." Unable to bear the suspense any longer, on the evening of May 29, he "retired to my cubby-hole of an office" and wrote the

story of the naval battle that probably—he couldn't be certain—had been fought but about which no one but the participants knew anything. Using the "plausible" dateline of Seoul, he "laid it on, as they used to say in those days, with a shovel," providing the names of ships, their commanders, and their fates, and ascribing a fantastic victory to the Japanese. Mencken and his news editor worked on it until midnight, and the next day the story appeared. It would be two more weeks before actual reports of the battle reached the United States, and when they did Mencken anxiously scoured the telegrams. "We lived in fear that we might have pulled some very sour ones. But . . . we had guessed precisely right in every particular of the slightest importance, and on many fine points we had even beaten the Japs themselves." It was his grandest fake yet, to be surpassed only by "my bogus history of the bathtub" published in a New York paper a dozen years later.

Much has changed in a hundred years. Reporters still invent stories out of whole cloth, and here and there editors lose their ethical footing, but these days the consequences are draconian. We now pursue occasional "synthesizers" and accidental plagiarists with the vigor we once reserved for witches and heretics, ending one career after another in sudden bursts of flame. Witness the *Sun*'s unforgiving dismissal of Michael Olesker for imagining a politico's smirk and carelessly repeating someone else's "boilerplate." Public execution, followed closely by equally public incantations to the gods of publishing integrity, seems to be the twenty-first century way of dealing with authorial and editorial misdemeanors.

It is both sad and natural that it be so. A nation forced to witness so much résumé faking, presidential fibbing, CEO grabbing, financial fudging, and stock market swindling, has grown understandably testy and has to hold *someone* accountable. Though we would do well to remember that, had his editorial contemporaries caught up with the wily Mencken, the country might have lost one of its greatest talents, that was then, and they differed from us in at least one particular. Despite their own terrible wars, epidemics, genocides, scandals, lynchings, floods, fires, and economic depressions, our predecessors a century ago had a sense of balance, proportion, and humor that we no longer possess.

With this issue we conclude our centennial celebration, and hope you have enjoyed seeing once more, or for the first time, what we judge to be the best of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. In an earlier age, we could say we rescued some of these pieces, for the paper on which the few remaining copies are printed is fast disintegrating, and they will soon be, quite literally, dust, except for the odd bit of microfilm. But the electronic age, so filled with mixed blessings, is at least clearly of benefit in this one: Soon the entire journal will be available online.

Meanwhile, credit and praise are due to Managing Editor Patricia Dockman Anderson for overseeing this special volume. It was she who initiated discussion of a centennial celebration, and she who shouldered by far the greatest burden in selecting and producing its contents. R.I.C.

Montebello, Home of General Samuel Smith

J. GILMAN D. PAUL

One day recently there appeared in the Maryland Historical Society the portrait of a beautiful white house. It was fading into the limbo that awaits all old photographs, but the festive, composed symmetry of the building, brought out against a background of great trees, still projected itself powerfully from the frame. You could call it a villa, in the full European sense of the word; but there was something about the unruly texture of the surrounding foliage, the look of the summery furniture in the porches, that made you realize this was a charming exile in the American wilderness.

To at least one person who saw it that day, the picture brought across the years a sense of something more than familiar. It was the neatness, the whiteness, the warmly inhabited look that threw him off the track for a moment and kept him from realizing at once that this was none other than the mysterious deserted house in "Garrett's Woods," close to his home, that he had known from his earliest years. "Montebello" it was called. Its stucco walls, at that time, were streaked with huge weather stains, its windows were like dead eyes; but in spite of this the old house had a dauntless gayety, proclaiming its courage and high breeding in language that even a child could understand. In spite of half-hearted efforts to keep them boarded up, the doors usually stood open to any chance trespasser, and so this small boy grew to know every inch of the echoing interior, by day and by night. In the shadows of what had been a stately dining room, he deeply relished the oval sweep of the walls; or, stepping out through a shattered window to the roof of the living room, he shared with a thousand noisy bumble bees the flowers of a great white wisteria that was methodically wrecking the delicate wooden railing. Looking out through the tangle of the vine, he could see the distant city of Baltimore, already advancing in a relentless tide of two-story houses that was soon to overwhelm the site of the old house and its majestic company of white oaks.

These reflections, personal and sentimental as they are, might seem to have no place here; but as often happens, the enthusiasms one fancies to be one's private property are the familiar companions of many others. So it was with Montebello. It emerged, in conversation, that there still live old ladies who had driven out to the house with their parents to call "while the Garretts lived there"—the epoch when the photograph was taken—and are ready and willing to tell what they

This article first appeared in volume 42 (1947).

remember of it. Others, more numerous, got to know it when, as students at Bryn Mawr School, they went out from town to play basket ball near the old stone stables that served for a time as gymnasium. Amateur snapshots emerged from hiding; scraps of woodwork piously salvaged from the wreckers unexpectedly appeared. A number of persons, thinking of Montebello as the loveliest old house in Maryland, commended it to the attention of the new-born Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities and were shocked to learn it had been destroyed thirty years ago. In view, therefore, of this unexpectedly lively interest it seems fitting to pay a salute to the old house before the photograph has wholly faded and while there remains a small group of people who remember it with affection.

In that stirring period just after the Revolution, Samuel Smith, builder of Montebello, stands out as easily the most engaging and powerful figure in the Maryland scene. Like so many of the men who helped forge Baltimore's financial and commercial might at the turn of the century, he was of Scotch-Irish ancestry; unlike many of them, however, he peered eagerly beyond the walls of his wealthy father's counting house at the greater world abroad, and in 1772, a young man of 20, set out on three *wanderjahre* in Europe which were to have a deep influence on his life. Returning home just before the outbreak of war with England, he plunged joyously into the conflict, acquitting himself brilliantly, winning the rank of Brigadier-General and forming a taste for military life which was to stand his fellow citizens in good stead on occasions to come. Even before the war was over his immense vitality, turning here and there for outlets, led him deep into the complexities of national politics and land speculation, while at the same time he set about the business of founding a family by marrying Margaret Spear of Baltimore in 1778. So prosperous were his affairs by 1792 (he was then an incorporator of the Bank of Maryland and a dominant figure in the State's iron industry) that we find him laying plans for building town and country residences in the best taste of his time. Parcel after parcel of land was acquired on the high ground north of the city, where the City College now stands, and the County Assessment records of 1799 state that "on this [General Smith's] property is the beginning of a most elegant brick dwelling house." "Black Heath" was the name then borne by this estate of 473 acres. Tradition has it that the General, a great admirer of French military prowess, rechristened it in honor of Marshal Lannes's victory over the Austrians at Montebello in 1800.

In a scholarly essay published in the *Architectural Review* of November, 1909, Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler lays every subsequent student of Montebello under deep obligation. In it he calls attention to the fact that Homewood, Charles Carroll's famous house, was probably under construction before Montebello was finished, and that "the resemblance between the detail of Montebellow [sic] and that of Homewood, not only in the scale and character of the moldings, but even in the design of individual features, is very close—indeed, much closer than can be

entirely explained by the fact that they were contemporaries. It seems almost certain that the same men must have executed the work at both places." In this regard, however, contemporary documents do not help us out of the realm of conjecture. We now know, from the correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton with his son, that Homewood was built by a man named Edwards after designs by Charles Carroll the younger. We also learn from Griffith's *Annals of Baltimore* that General Smith's town house on Water Street was built in 1796 "on a plan furnished by himself and executed by Messrs. John Scroggs, Robert Steuart and James Mosher, builders." It would seem likely that the same firm was employed on the building of Montebello, started only three years later. The theory that General Smith was his own architect finds support in the daring and original character of the man, who did not hesitate to depart from the accepted contemporary type of country house with a central building connected by one-story passages to lower wings on each side, as exemplified by Hampton, Belvedere, and Homewood.

In this connection, a most interesting bit of research is contributed by Mr. Fowler, who notes that "at Strabane, Ireland, the birthplace of General Smith's father, there is a villa which, as shown in an old 18th century architectural book now in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, quite decidedly resembles Montebello—certainly a striking coincidence, if nothing more."

About 1800, then, we find General Smith, his wife ("a beautiful and imperious woman") and their many children installed at Montebello, which William Wirt must surely have had in mind when he described the country homes of that neighborhood. "The sites of the houses are well selected," he wrote, "always upon some eminence, embosomed among beautiful trees, from which their white fronts peep out enchantingly; for the houses are all white, which adds much to the cheerfulness and grace of this unrivalled scenery." A glance at the accompanying illustrations shows that Montebello was not a bumptious house. The detail, inside and out, was most delicate and knowingly used; there are none of the devices commonly employed to impress the visitor. Instead, the designer depended for his effects on subtle touches such as the harmonious relation of the rounded ends of the high rear part of the house to the reentrant curves by which the porches flank the one-story front section. Perhaps the most interesting room was the oval dining room, constructed with a reckless expenditure of masonry, which, according to Mr. Fowler, was more elaborately finished than the others, with French furniture of exceptional workmanship, a fine marble mantelpiece from Italy, and on the walls two handsome portraits of the General and his wife by Gilbert Stuart. All these well-thought-out details were not lost on the distinguished visitors from Europe who were entertained there as General Smith became more and more deeply involved in National and State affairs. The chronicle of his occupancy of Montebello is a happy and interesting one. As years and honors were laid on

him, he seems to have made a truce with the forces of mental and physical disintegration, for at the age of eighty-three, he was called by the despairing citizens of Baltimore to suppress the great Bank Riot of 1835. Shortly after this he was elected Mayor of the City, holding this office almost until his death, in 1839.

The General's son, John Spear Smith, first President of the Maryland Historical Society, now took over at Montebello, sharing it with his mother until her death in 1842. Of his affection for it we get some reflection in a letter written in May, 1839, to his daughter Mary: "It is hard to be kept in town this beautiful weather, and that too when Montebello is in all its glory—strawberries ripening, flowers in bloom, the lawns fresh mowed." However, the estate was soon to be sold to the Tiffany family, of whose occupancy few memories seem to have survived. Toward the end of the Tiffany regime a portentous figure appeared on the scene in the shape of John W. Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, who built himself a country home on a higher, more dominating ridge north of Montebello. Mr. Garrett was a close friend of Johns Hopkins, whose home, Clifton, lay nearby, east of the Harford Road. It is known that the two men discussed intimately the plans for the University that Mr. Hopkins was to found, and it is not unlikely that the purchases of land made by Mr. Garrett at this time had some relation to these plans. Among the tracts assembled in this huge acreage was Montebello, which stood for years untenanted until it came to life for a short time as the summer home of Mr. Garrett's son, T. Harrison Garrett, before he moved to Evergreen on Charles Street Avenue.

Montebello was never again occupied as a home. After the elder Mr. Garrett's death, his landholdings were divided among various heirs, the white villa falling to the share of his daughter, Miss Mary Garrett, well known as a pioneer in the struggle for equal rights for women. Miss Garrett was a close friend of the President of Bryn Mawr College, the redoubtable Miss M. Carey Thomas, and we are fortunate in having the record of a visit paid by these two ladies to Montebello—a visit fraught with disastrous consequences for the old house.

The story is told by Mr. J. Alexis Shriver, a former officer of the Maryland Historical Society, which owes much to his abounding energy and tireless spirit of research. Mr. Shriver in 1907 was deeply interested as purchasing agent in a projected electric railroad from Baltimore to the Susquehanna, the right of way of which would pass directly through the Montebello estate. After some correspondence Mr. Shriver was informed by the owner, Miss Mary Garrett, that she wished to see for herself the course of the proposed railroad, and that she would meet him at Montebello on such and such a day, accompanied by Miss Thomas. Mr. Shriver, who drove out from Baltimore in a closed carriage, was at the place of rendezvous well ahead of the two ladies, who finally appeared in a victoria, wide open to the summer air.

After discussing the matter of the right of way at great length, their attention

turned to Montebello, beautiful even in the last stages of dilapidation, and they gingerly entered it through the shattered front door. As they passed from room to room, avoiding fallen plaster and holes in the floor, Miss Thomas was moved to increasingly vigorous expressions of distaste, based rather on fear that Miss Garrett might become liable for damage suits than on regret for the sad condition of an architectural masterpiece. The appearance of some coarse *graffiti* scrawled by boys on the living-room wall brought matters to a head, and Miss Thomas declared with finality, "Mary, this house must be pulled down."

"Yes, Carey dear, I think you are right," replied Miss Garrett, and orders for the wrecking were given then and there to the Irish overseer who was going along with the party. Mr. Shriver tried to stand between the old house and destiny, but to no avail. Seeing the cause was lost, he pointed out that much of the delicate woodwork was still intact and should be preserved for study, to which Miss Thomas crisply replied that anything worth salvaging would be sent to Bryn Mawr. As they came out of the doomed house, it became evident that an afternoon thunderstorm was about to pounce. There was a rapid issuance of orders by Miss Thomas, and the last Mr. Shriver saw of the two ladies they were heading for Baltimore in his closed carriage, leaving him to meet the storm in the victoria.

To Baltimore's everlasting architectural loss, the orders for wrecking Montebello were carried out shortly after this visit, and the house was leveled a few years before the property, as a whole, was sold for real estate development. What a moral can be drawn from this in favor of the new Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities! The woodwork minus the mantels, which had all been removed (or stolen) was not sent to Bryn Mawr, but was stored in an old greenhouse nearby, where it was destroyed by fire. Of Montebello, nothing tangible survives save a few scraps of woodwork in the collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art, and in private hands.

Comment

John Gilman Darcy Paul (1887–1972) grew up at Woodlands, a country estate in Waverly just north of Baltimore—a child's walking distance from Montebello. Descended from founding families of New England and the Chesapeake, he attended local primary schools and then moved on to Harvard. Paul returned home and enrolled at the Johns Hopkins University where he studied literature and languages. His post-university career included a position on the editorial staff of the *Baltimore Sun* (where his desk sat next to H. L. Mencken's), attaché to the American legation in Guatemala, and later as private secretary to the American Minister of Buenos Aires, John Work Garrett, grandson and namesake of the former Baltimore and Ohio Railroad president. During World War I, the American Embassy called him to Paris.

Afterward, Paul devoted his time to writing local history and to supporting the area's cultural institutions. The memorials and tributes written after his death enumerate scores of causes to which he contributed his time, talent, and financial support. He wrote, in 1948, that "since settling down in Baltimore . . . I now find, with some surprise, that I am President of the Board of Trustees of the Baltimore Museum of Art, trustee of the Johns Hopkins University . . . trustee of the Peabody Institute, vice-president of the Maryland Historical Society, etc., etc. . . ."

John Gilman Darcy Paul is a fine example of the type of men who in 1844 founded the Maryland Historical Society—privileged, educated, literate, philanthropic gentlemen who worked to "preserve what was worthiest from the past." Paul's lyrical prose entices the reader into the story in much the same way that Montebello's fanciful aura lured that curious young explorer over its threshold. The tale, from the pen of one well-schooled in literature and languages, is told with confidence and an unabashed love of the subject.

Archivist F. Garner Ranney wrote the society's tribute to Paul in late winter 1972, a richly detailed account of a life well-lived. (Long-time society members and researchers will remember Mr. Ranney, whose desk and files lined the library's second-floor balcony walkway.) In assessing Paul's greatest gift, Ranney quoted Mrs. Bayard Turnbull, ". . . the give and take of his conversation was a delight. Whether he left at one's door a book of Santayana's or an amaryllis about to unfold its perfect blooms, his was a handing on of something beautiful that one would remember on one's way."

It is this style that caught the Publications Committee's eye. Another salute came from quiet, diligent, and dedicated *MdHM* proofreader Jane Cushing Lange who rarely scribbles comments in the margins of her work. On this one she wrote "absolutely poetic." In this article, John Gilman Darcy Paul's "something beautiful" is handed on once more.

PDA

The Baltimore Fire and Baltimore Reform

JAMES B. CROOKS

THE great Baltimore fire of February 7, 1904 generally receives credit among Baltimoreans for stimulating the reforms of the Progressive Era. John Powell writing his essay on the "History of Baltimore, 1870–1912" in the latter year may have started the impression when he observed:

> The boldness with which Baltimore in the very moment of its devastation [following the fire], planned and put into execution a great scheme of public improvements, seemed to act as a charm to dissolve the spell of ultra-conservatism, and to inspire the people with a confidence in themselves and in the future of the city which increased in strength with every step it took. A splendid audacity, resting upon a basis of intelligent comprehension, replaced the old-time hesitancy with which large projects had been received. To create rather than to be created became the dominant impulse of the community.[1]

Powell substantiated his thesis by describing the rebuilding of the burnt district, the construction of a sewage system, the smooth paving of cobblestone streets, the enlarging of the park system, and numerous other major public improvements undertaken following the fire. Subsequently the impression took hold in the popular mind that the fire instigated the reforms.[2] It is the purpose of this article, based on a fresh examination of the evidence, to raise the question: to what extent did the fire spur reform?

The progressive movement at the turn of the century can be broken down into four categories. In Baltimore, as throughout the nation during the era of Bryan, La Follette, Roosevelt and Wilson, there were essentially four kinds of reforms: political reform, economic reform, social reform and city planning, or the planning of new buildings and public improvements relative to the growth of cities.

Political reform focused on electing honest, efficient and capable men to of-

1. Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Baltimore, Its History and Its People* (New York, 1912) I, p. 357.
2. To the point that when the author was preparing to talk to a group of Baltimoreans the day after this paper was presented to the Maryland Historical Society in November, 1968, one well

This article first appeared in volume 65 (1970). Professor Crooks is the author of Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895–1911 *(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968).*

fice; broadening and strengthening the franchise by support of direct primaries, woman's suffrage and the direct election of United States Senators; and ensuring that elections were honest. Political reform also sought to oust corrupt or dictatorial political machines and to keep them out in ensuing years.

In Baltimore, the old Gorman-Rasin Democratic machine was defeated in 1895, nine years before the fire. The Republican city governments which succeeded it, however, were very little improvement. Frustrated by the lack of progress through either major party, and yet realizing that a third party probably could not win, the reformers organized themselves as a pressure group holding the balance of power between the two major parties. Their purpose was to force the major parties to accept their programs as the price for election victories. In the mayoral election of 1899, the new policy worked as the reformers persuaded the Democratic organization to put forward a reputable candidate and Thomas G. Hayes was elected.[3]

H. L. Mencken described Hayes as "a very shrewd lawyer, an unreconstructed Confederate veteran, a pious Methodist, and a somewhat bawdy bachelor."[4] As mayor, Hayes picked first-rate men to run the city government. One of several such appointments was that of Joseph Packard to be School Board President. Packard initiated the reform of the city's very backward school system.

When Hayes began to try to organize his own political machine looking toward re-election in 1903, reformers again cooperated with regular Democrats to elect the young, competent Robert McLane. McLane died tragically four months after the fire, but his successors carried on honest, efficient, and enlightened city government. By 1906, Charles Grasty, the editor of the *Baltimore News,* and one of the leaders of the reform movement, could refer to Baltimore as a city without graft, adding that "good and faithful service has become the standard requirement that the community habitually and automatically exacts of its public officials."[5]

In sum, political reform began substantially before the fire in 1895. Not only had city government been made honest and efficient, but the city had a new charter drafted in 1898 and direct primary elections introduced in 1902 to choose party candidates. Additional reforms followed the fire, such as the direct election of United States Senators and legislation to abolish corrupt campaign practices. But the momentum had begun well before 1904 and the relationship between the fire and political reform in Baltimore was minimal.

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educated, intelligent hostess remarked, "oh yes, the fire did result in a great many reforms here." Similarly, Hollins College students from Baltimore frequently link the fire with urban reform.

3. James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895–1911* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1968), p. 98.

4. H. L. Mencken, *Newspaper Days 1899–1906* (New York, 1941), p. 41.

5. Baltimore *News,* December 22, 1906.

The second area of urban reform in Baltimore during the progressive era was economic reform. Actually, economic reform was minimal because of the restricted powers of city government to tax itself or control operations of corporations within city limits. By 1901, Americans were beginning to realize that not even state governments had the power to regulate big business corporations, and the function of corporate regulation was shifting to Washington. Still, there were inequities in property assessments and taxation. There were lucrative franchises available to the local public utilities. And there was the need to regulate child labor, factories, dairies, slaughter houses and bakeries in the interest of public health.

In Baltimore, attempts to close loopholes in property taxation began with the Hayes administration in its appointment of two reformers to the Appeals Tax Court in 1899. The regulation of factories, slaughterhouses, dairies and bakeries also began in the 1890s and evolved over the next twenty years in both sophistication and effectiveness. Efforts to regulate the public utilities began in the first Republican reform administration in 1895, but progress was blocked until 1910 due to the influential opposition of the utility companies as well as the city's own lack of authority to act. State legislation was required and the rural-oriented, machine-dominated General Assembly refused to cooperate. To a lesser extent, the delay was also due to the fire as reformers turned their attention to rebuilding the burnt district, rather than combating the utilities. In short, in the area of economic reform as in the area of political reform, the fire probably had little effect as a catalyst.[6]

Social reform was the third area of urban progressivism and included provision for child labor legislation, public health reforms, playgrounds, compulsory school attendance and juvenile courts. Again, reforms began before the fire and continued afterwards. In 1892, Dr. William H. Welch of the Johns Hopkins Medical School challenged Baltimoreans to provide pure water, food inspection, clean streets and a sanitary sewage system to correct urban environmental deficiencies. Welch's colleague, Dr. William Osler, helped to found the Maryland Public Health Association in 1897 to improve environmental conditions, especially for the urban poor.

Reforms helped all Baltimoreans, but it was the urban poor who were most susceptible to the diseases caused by garbage-strewn alleys, contaminated foods and crowded housing. Moreover, once incapacitated by sickness, the poor also lacked the resources to obtain adequate medical care. Mary Richmond of the Charity Organization Society estimated in 1898 that one-fourth of all urban poverty could be traced to sickness and disease. In addition, it was the poor child who lived in a tenement, worked in a factory, missed school, and was forced to play in the streets. While doctors like Welch and Osler, and social workers like Miss Rich-

6. Crooks, *Politics and Progress*, 108 ff.

mond voiced concern for the urban poor, James Cardinal Gibbons spoke similarly in behalf of the enlightened churchmen of Baltimore in 1903 in attacking the iniquities of the sweatshop and later the unjust discrimination of Negro disfranchisement.[7]

Not only were there spokesmen for social reform before 1904, but there was action too. Before 1904, either the city council or General Assembly passed the laws that regulated child labor and sweatshops, required compulsory school attendance, established juvenile courts, and financed public baths. Enforcement of the child labor and sweatshop reforms came after the fire as did city subsidies for playgrounds and recreational programs and efforts to reform the housing code.

Of particular significance was a major campaign to combat tuberculosis, which reached a climax with a week-long exhibit attended by an estimated 50,000 people at the Johns Hopkins University in January, 1904. The exhibit dramatized the history and nature of the dread disease, presented statistics on its prevalence and rate of mortality, displayed models of proposed dispensaries and sanitaria, and sponsored daily lectures on the subjects. Among the displays were a series of photographs of Baltimore tenements and sweatshops showing overcrowding, inadequate ventilation and poor sanitation which were all conducive to the spread of tuberculosis. Speakers urged employers to limit working hours for children and provide sanitary workshops; philanthropists to build model tenements and sanitaria; and cities to build sanitaria and public housing similar to those in Glasgow, Scotland.

The effect of the educational campaign was limited. The Baltimore fire followed within a week of the exhibit's closing, diverting attention from the issue. Instead, attention focused upon rebuilding the burnt district and therefore disrupted reform efforts in behalf of the crusade against tuberculosis. In effect, the relationship of the Baltimore fire to social reform was similar to its relationship with economic and political reform. The results were minimal in stimulating progress. If anything, the fire retarded reform diverting attention from the social, economic and political problems already at hand.

Still, the fire is associated with a vast program of public improvements in Baltimore, and correctly so. These public improvements are perhaps the progressive era's counterpart to today's urban renewal and urban planning programs, and it is this aspect of urban progressivism and its relationship to the fire that must be examined.

The whole tradition of city planning, so rich in the histories of Ancient Rome and Louis XIV's reign, was revived in France under Louis Napoleon in the mid-nineteenth century when Baron von Haussmann rebuilt Paris. In the United States, planning revived with the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 and the erection of the

7. *Ibid.*, 155 ff.

Great White City on the shores of Lake Michigan. From Chicago, the impetus spread to Cleveland's monumental civic center, to Washington where L'Enfant's original plans for the Mall were finally completed, and to Baltimore, where in 1899—the same year that Mayor Hayes and the reform Democrats came to power—Theodore Marburg organized the Municipal Art Society.

The Municipal Art Society's first efforts were in the area of urban beautification: commissioning a mural for the new courthouse, two statues for Mount Vernon Place, and interior decoration in dreary school classrooms. Of greater long-term importance, however, was the formation of two committees: one to implement the recent reports of the Baltimore Sewerage Commission, and the other to propose plans for the development of the recently annexed area north of North Avenue.[8] The sewage committee worked to remedy Baltimore's somewhat dubious reputation as the nation's largest unsewered city, persevering through the partisan finagling of both Democrats and Republicans in city council and General Assembly. The annex committee hired Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., of the famous Olmsted Brothers landscape architectural firm, to plan the development of the recent additions to the city. Unfortunately there was as yet no topographical survey of the annexed area, and Olmsted was forced to limit his planning to developing a coordinated park system.

The park plan, however, was a masterpiece that served as a basis for park development for two generations.[9] In it Olmsted compared Baltimore to Boston, New York, London and Paris to determine the city's needs in total park development. He analyzed the function of parks relative to population density and terrain. Basically he urged the development of three kinds of parks. First, the city needed neighborhood parks and squares to be opened in the densely populated areas to provide recreational facilities for children, youths and adults. Baltimore was particularly lacking in these. Second, the city required large wooded parks on its outskirts, like Baltimore's Druid Hill Park, to provide a complete contrast to the city's sights and sounds. Third, the city needed attractively landscaped parkways or roads radiating out from the heart of the city. Some would be primarily for the carriage trade, but others were planned for commercial traffic in order to combine the advantages of beauty and utility.

In his report delivered to the Municipal Art Society in November 1903, Olmsted proposed a comprehensive plan of park development. He recommended the acquisition of thirty-six small parks and squares, averaging between four and five acres in size in the densely populated areas of Baltimore. He proposed adding to the five existing suburban parks—Wyman, Druid Hill, Clifton, Montebello and

8. Minutes of the Municipal Art Society of Baltimore City, April 27, 1900, and January 9, 1901 (in possession of Douglas H. Gordon of Baltimore).

9. Olmsted Brothers, *Report of the Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1904), pp. 11–50 *passim*.

Patterson—plus the creation of a new waterfront park at the mouth of the Middle Branch in southwest Baltimore. He also suggested the acquisition of what he called "outlying reservations" in anticipation of future metropolitan growth. These lands would be along Back River by the bay, Loch Raven, the Patapsco River gorge, Curtis Creek and in the Green Spring Valley. His parkways followed two approaches. First, he took advantage of the city's hilly terrain with its many streams running through to propose parks and scenic drives along Gwynns Falls, Jones Falls, Stoney Run and Herring Run. Second, he sought to widen and make attractive commercial highways that fanned out in all directions from downtown Baltimore.

While Olmsted studied the intricacies of park development, Baltimoreans began to realize that partisan politics was delaying construction of a sewage system and other city improvements. In the mayoral election of May 1903, both candidates promised to support a nonpartisan sewage commission. In November, Governor-elect Edwin Warfield offered to sign any sewage bill upon which the city leaders agreed.[10]

Following the city elections Grasty began a newspaper campaign in behalf of public improvements in the Baltimore *News*. Reporters interviewed Baltimore architect J. B. Noel Wyatt upon his return from Europe. Wyatt, a director of the Municipal Art Society, criticized Baltimore for "idly resting on its old-time reputation as an attractive place on account of such agreeable, but superficial and transient elements as hospitality, sociability, low rents and cheap food markets." European cities, in contrast, gave an impression of having good order and being well kept. Streets were well paved; parks and public gardens were used and enjoyed by all classes of society; and there was appreciation of and willingness to pay for public art and architecture. Even in the United States, Wyatt saw "towns all over the country . . . spending millions in complete sewer systems, street paving and various other improvements on a vast scale," while Baltimore stagnated. Cardinal Gibbons agreed that Europeans in contrast to Baltimoreans took pride in their cities: "They interest themselves very earnestly in civic improvements and in every measure that tends to beautify the city and render the country attractive."[11]

City officials responded energetically to the calls for public improvements. Mayor McLane endorsed sewer construction and asked city department heads to determine the cost of providing adequate schools, paved roads and fire engine houses. Solicitor Williams Cabell Bruce began drafting enabling acts to provide bond issues to finance the public improvements.

Initially provision for park development was omitted from the mayor's plans. In December, 1903 Municipal Art Society representatives called upon McLane in

10. *News*, April 30, August 21, and November 14, 1903.
11. *Ibid.*, November 13, 14, 17, 1903.

behalf of the Olmsted plan, and after some initial hesitation the Board of Estimates on February 2nd agreed to approve a park loan along with the other proposed public improvements. Four days later and one day before the fire, Baltimore's delegation to the General Assembly announced its readiness to support the bills to provide sewers, street paving, schools, parks, and engine houses for the city. Baltimore's major program for public improvements was ready to begin, and just in the nick of time. Further delay might have buried the program in the ashes of the Baltimore fire.[12]

Baltimore progressives had gotten a program of planned public improvements off the drawing board and partly approved *before* the fire had begun. Still to be decided would be the vote in the General Assembly, and more important, the vote of Baltimoreans in the referendum that would follow. One wonders if the fire had come first whether there would have been the time to make the plans and gain the support of local officials for the program that Mayor McLane submitted to the General Assembly.

The great Baltimore Fire of February 7, 1904 began on a quiet winter Sunday. A spark from a discarded cigar or match burst into flame in the basement of a downtown dry goods store, igniting the blankets and cotton goods stored there. The fire spread rapidly and within minutes was blazing out of control. The flames leaped from building to building and overcame efforts of more than 1200 firemen to extinguish them. The fire raged for thirty hours. It threatened residential East Baltimore, but the wind shifted and drove it into the harbor. Seventy blocks, 1,526 buildings and more than 2,500 business enterprises were burnt out. Twenty banks, eight hotels, nine newspaper plants, and nine transportation offices, including the home office of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, were gutted. Fortunately, no one was killed, and few homes were destroyed.[13]

No one knew how Baltimoreans would react to the destruction of the commercial heart of their city. The last disaster to cripple Baltimore had been the Civil War. Before 1861 the city had been the financial and commercial capital of the South. In 1850 it was the second largest city in the country. The war, however, completely severed the economic bonds between the city and the South. It led to a military occupation and to imposed political conformity. Perhaps worst of all, it tore families asunder as brothers and cousins joined the Confederacy to fight against brothers and cousins loyal to the Union. The disaster of the war sapped the vitality of an entire generation. Economically, Baltimoreans became more conservative; politically, they became apathetic; and psychologically, they became less daring and less willing to take a chance.

In 1904, however, a new generation was taking control. Grasty had stimulated

12. *Ibid.*, January 19, February 2, 6, 1904.

13. For a detailed description of the fire see Harold A. Williams, *Baltimore Afire* (Baltimore, 1954).

journalistic reform; Charles Bonaparte had led the political reformers; and men like Alexander Brown had spurred a dynamic policy of financial consolidation in the railroads and utilities. Yet leaders like Grasty worried about how Baltimoreans would respond to this latest disaster. Many of the Civil War generation still dominated segments of Baltimore life. Their apathy or the cautious response of the generation could result in a slow rebuilding with few improvements. A dynamic response could stimulate the entire city to become truly progressive. The nature of the response would depend largely upon the city's leadership and upon the willingness of its citizens to follow.

Grasty identified the challenge in a *News* editorial issuing a call to greatness for all Baltimoreans:

> To suppose that the spirit of our people will not rise to the occasion is to suppose that our people are not genuine Americans. Chicago dates her greatness from the great fire of 1871; Boston's fire in 1872 . . . stimulated Boston's improvement and development; even little Galveston, overwhelmed by a flood which seemed calculated to wipe out all hope and courage in that town, rose up after the calamity more vigorous and more aggressive than ever. Baltimore will do likewise. We shall make the fire of 1904 a landmark not of decline but of progress.[14]

On the Friday following the fire, Mayor McLane appointed a sixty-three member Citizens Emergency Committee to advise him on rebuilding the burnt district. Comparable committees had been formed in Chicago and Boston following their fires. All of the men were professional and business leaders in Baltimore. Their response would determine in large measure Baltimore's reaction to the fire. By choosing the dynamic Willam Keyser as chairman of the committee, McLane contributed substantially toward ensuring that the response would be progressive.

Keyser immediately divided the group into subcommittees to solve the problems of devastation, reconstruction, legislation and finance. Over the weekend they met to begin their plans. By Monday, the subcommittee on legislation was ready with drafts of a bill to create a Burnt District Commission to supervise the reconstruction of the area. The subcommittee on street improvements met at Theodore Marburg's home, and with the advice of Olmsted, planned the widening of eleven major traffic arteries in the district. Olmsted also recommended the purchase and rebuilding by the city of all the wharves along Pratt Street. He believed that if municipally owned, the docks could be reconstructed for beauty as well as utility and would have space set aside for purposes of recreation. Other proposals included laying sewer connections in anticipation of a city-wide system,

14. *News*, February 8, 1904.

smoothpaving the streets, a park in Marsh Market, and a limitation on the height of new buildings in the area to 150 feet. The improvements would cost $9 million, $5 million of which would be financed by a bond issue and the remainder from the proceeds of the city's recent sale of the Western Maryland Railroad. A few committee members opposed spending such large sums, but Keyser, who lost nine warehouses in the fire, urged that all necessary improvements be made without regard to costs and the committee approved the plans.[15]

The momentum of the initial response by the press, mayor and Citizens Emergency Committee carried to the General Assembly which quickly passed legislation enabling the city to carry out its plans. These included a six million dollar modernization of the harbor. Mayor McLane appointed a Burnt District Commission to execute the plans, and the voters of Baltimore endorsed the harbor loan in the elections of May.[16]

Opposition to the plan came from the Republican-dominated Second Branch of the city council, which blocked the proposed widening of the city's major thoroughfare. Baltimore Street property owners and their agents objected to the widening as unnecessary. They claimed the proposal would mean smaller property lots and buildings, lower valuations and higher taxes. Grasty, Keyser and Theodore Marburg disagreed. Keyser and Grasty also owned property fronting on Baltimore Street and offered to donate strips of it to facilitate the street widening. Marburg argued that the "widening of Baltimore Street" was "one of the most important features of the improvement plan. If Baltimore is rebuilt with that thororoughfare at the present width, the most conspicuous instance of congested traffic will remain." The Republican councilmen backed by the property holders remained adamant and excluded Baltimore Street in their approval of the plan to rebuild downtown Baltimore. The result was as Marburg predicted.[17]

The opposition to widening Baltimore Street slowed the momentum of civic renewal. In its wake, the Board of Estimates eliminated the Marsh Market park as well as Olmsted's proposed recreation pier. Harbor renewal continued, however, streets were widened, smooth-paved and graded in the burnt district, and a height limitation was placed upon new construction. Private interests rebuilt rapidly in the burnt district, and within two years few scars remained from the fire. Unfortunately no plan coordinated the private reconstruction in terms of form or function. City planning had not yet reached that stage of control. The result was a renewed business district in Baltimore, but also a lost opportunity to rebuild in the city center with coordination, imagination and style. The result also showed

15. Citizens Emergency Committee Minute Book, MS. 237, Md. Hist. Soc.; and *News*, February 17, 22, 23, 1904.

16. *News*, March 11 and May 18, 1904.

17. *Ibid.*, March 23, 24, and April 1, 8, 18, 19, 21, 22, 1904.

that those who supported reform before the fire responded with imagination, but many Baltimoreans remained unchanged in the way of the Baltimore Street property owners. In effect, the fire's immediate influence or stimulus to urban reform does not seem to have been very far-reaching.

But what about the long-term influence, particularly with regard to support for the planned public improvements endorsed by the mayor and legislative delegation before the Fire?

While Baltimoreans responded in varying ways to the fire, the city's other plans for public improvements awaited action. City solicitor William Cabell Bruce ensured their authorization by the General Assembly following the fire, but they also needed the support of the public in an election referendum. Delays resulted, first from the attention devoted to rebuilding the burnt district and then from the tragic death of Mayor McLane in June, 1904.[18]

His successor, Clay Timanus, president of the city council's Second Branch, was neither a planner nor a reformer, but fortunately he picked his advisors wisely. Closest to him were Solicitor Bruce and the new president of the Second Branch, George R. Gaither.[19]

It is not clear whether Timanus, Gaither or Bruce originated the idea for the General Public Improvements Conference that the mayor called in December 1904, but the idea caught the imagination of Baltimoreans. Delegates came from all sections and all classes of the city. From Old Town, East Baltimore and South Baltimore came local businessmen representing their sections of the city. The coal exchange, lumber exchange, tobacco board of trade, clothiers' board of trade and like groups sent their representatives as did the neighborhood improvement associations from Walbrook, Peabody Heights, Waverly, Homestead and other areas of the city. City-wide business groups like the Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade, and Merchants and Manufacturers Association sent delegates along with the Federation of Labor, German-American Independent Citizens Union, Charity Organization Society and Municipal Art Society. Two hundred men, some planners, others seeking special improvements such as good roads for commerce, and still others seeking neighborhood schools, joined together in a united effort to improve Baltimore. Even partisan politics was put aside as Democrats and Republicans endorsed the conference.[20]

At the conference Gaither organized subcommittees responsible for each category of public improvements such as streets, schools and water. To coordinate the programs, the subcommittee chairmen and secretaries were formed into an executive committee to set policy. Once organized, the committees met to assign

18. *Ibid.*, April 4 and May 31, 1904.
19. *Ibid.*, May 31 and June 8, 1904.
20. *Ibid.*, November 21, 23, 25 and December 3, 1904.

priorities to public improvements. Three projects were endorsed for election referenda in May, 1905: a ten million dollar sewage loan, a one million dollar park loan, and a two million dollar Annex loan to conduct a topographical survey, open and pave new streets, bridge streams, and extend city services of garbage collection and street cleaning. Shortly after the new year began, committee members began their campaign to stir up public opinion to support the loans. All the committee members carried the program to their local trade, business and neighborhood associations while political leaders put pressure on ward politicians to secure their support. One of the most energetic of the evangelists for planned public improvements was Francis King Carey, a corporation lawyer. He argued that a half-hearted program would not suffice and that $30 million should be spent if necessary. To the Shoe and Leather Board of Trade on the first anniversary of the fire, Carey stressed the need for cooperation to promote a healthy, progressive city and urged the nurture of civic pride. "A city," he said, "will be great or small in direct ratio to the greatness or smallness of the character of its people." In April, Republicans and Democrats co-sponsored public improvement rallies. The result was the passage of the three loans by substantial majorities in all of Baltimore's wards.[21]

The success of the General Public Improvement Conference in behalf of the sewage, park and Annex loans persuaded Mayor Timanus and his advisors to keep the committees active in succeeding public improvement campaigns. During the following six years, its members (and successor groups under Mayor J. Barry Mahool) supported and secured ratification of loans to build new schools and engine houses, pave streets and enlarge the water supply. Developments did not always proceed smoothly, but between May 1905 and May 1911, Baltimoreans endorsed 11 of 12 bond referenda.[22]

Doubtless the Baltimore fire, and particularly the aftermath when Baltimoreans found themselves with the task of rebuilding the burnt district, contributed to the success of the program for planned public improvements. The shock of the fire followed by the strong leadership of Mayor McLane, Keyser and others, supported by the press, had extraordinary educational value for the citizenry. When the General Public Improvements Conference was called later in the year, it built on momentum of the post-fire efforts.

Still, there were other factors involved. The fire gave civic leaders a chance to lead, but in all areas of urban reform, they were active before the fire. The fire contributed to preparing the man in the street for further programs of public improvements, but so had the recent suburban expansion into Walbrook, Peabody

21. *Ibid.*, December 6, 8, 14, 1904; January 14, February 6, 7, 8, March 29, and April 4, 15, 29, 1905.

22. *Ibid.*, December 27, 1905, and January 4, 10, 11, 1906.

Heights and across the Annex. Suburbanites and city dwellers already wanted improvements and were ready to cooperate on a city-wide plan.

Similarly, the average voter had shown considerable political sophistication to vote Republican in 1895 and 1897, shift to the Democrats in 1899, split his ticket in 1903, and vote Democratic again in 1907—in part in the interest of urban reform. For this voter, the fire was but one of a variety of influences over a fifteen-year period that persuaded him to support progressivism in Baltimore.

Finally, one might conclude that where the fire was a factor contributing to awakening Baltimoreans to the need for planned public improvements, it was also a factor in diverting attention from, and thereby slowing, economic and social reform. Or, to put it another way, compared to the leadership provided by Baltimoreans like Bonaparte, Marburg, Garrett, Osler and Welch; compared to the educational influence of the progressive Baltimore *News* and later the *Sun*; and compared to the energies expended and reforms accomplished by organizations like the Baltimore Reform League, Charity Organization Society, Municipal Art Society and other groups, the fire played a comparatively minor role in the rise of urban progressivism in Baltimore.

Comment

The publication of "The Baltimore Fire and Baltimore Reform" challenged the conventional wisdom among many Baltimoreans about the fire serving as the major catalyst for the many changes that took place in the city between the 1890s and First World War. It played a role, but other factors including the media, business and professional leaders, non profit organizations like the Municipal Art Society and Charity Organization Society, and the university may have been more instrumental in achieving urban reforms. The article also broadened the reform perspective from one of simply re-building the burnt district of the city to one of including political, social, and economic reforms ongoing during the era.

Thirty-five years later, the article still rings true, though a contemporary description of civic participation would include more women and African Americans. Clearly the leadership of the Progressive Era, and the partnership between public and private interests (both for profit and non-profit corporations) were fundamentally important as were the roles of the media (especially Grasty's *Baltimore News*) and higher education (Johns Hopkins University and Medical School).

Hopefully, in the twenty-first century, in the wake of 9/11, hurricanes, tsunamis, and earthquakes, American cities see the importance of ongoing preparation before a catastrophe strikes—and maximizing the inclusion of all citizens and resources both in preparation for and clean up after the event.

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Hampden-Woodberry: The Mill Village in an Urban Setting

D. RANDALL BEIRNE

A hundred years ago the valley of the Jones Falls just north of the old city line hummed with the sounds of activity. The textile mills, the foundry, and the construction of new houses produced lively background noises which were stilled by the large bell in the tower of Meadow Mill sounding the noon lunch break. The valley echoed from the sounds of clanging lunch pails and the voices of small children carrying the noon meal to their families in the mills. In 1880 the people of Hampden and Woodberry could boast that they lived in the most active and fastest growing community in the state.[1]

Today, the sounds from the valley are different. The roar of thousands of cars and trucks speeding along an elevated Jones Falls Expressway that bisects Hampden-Woodberry predominate. Below the expressway other sounds of activity rise. Mammoth trucks and myriad cars and motorcycles navigate the narrow streets leading to the former mill properties now occupied by Pepsi Cola, Londontown, Life-Like Products and other firms. This massive change over the last hundred years in the external appearance and activities of the community suggests that Hampden-Woodberry is no longer a nineteenth-century mill town.

This external view of Hampden-Woodberry is, however, deceiving. Underneath the wrappings of a modern, industrial urban center lies a homogeneous town of mostly working-class residents. With its own shops, service centers, churches and recreational activities, the area maintains a character of its own. In spite of the physical, economic and social changes that have taken place in other Baltimore communities over the last one hundred years, Hampden-Woodberry still exudes much of the atmosphere of the nineteenth-century mill village.

Geographical and social isolation have helped to preserve the homogeneity and identity of the community. To the west lies the great expanse of Druid Hill Park which, like a frontier, has separated Hampden-Woodberry from a hundred years of social change along Park Heights Avenue and Reisterstown Road. To the east lies Wyman Park and Johns Hopkins University, another geographical protective barrier that has clearly defined the eastern limits of the community for most of this century.

The boundaries to the north and south, however, are more economic than geographic. To the north lies affluent Roland Park with its spacious and expensive

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houses. For most residents of Hampden-Woodberry the economic jump into Roland Park has been too large to leap. Instead, border communities in Medfield, and along South Roland Avenue and Wyman Park have merged to form solid middle-class neighborhoods.

To the south lies Remington, a neighborhood that in the late nineteenth century was both a residential suburb of Baltimore and a working-class community. Remington is physically isolated from Hampden by Wyman Park and Stoney Run. Remington has passed through a series of social changes. Today it is a working-class community with several ethnic and racial groups, and it forms the only natural avenue of movement into Hampden-Woodberry.

Within these rough boundaries is the community called Hampden by most outsiders. To natives, however, there is a distinct social breakdown into the neighborhoods of Hampden, Stone Hill, and Woodberry. Most natives consider Woodberry to be west of Jones Falls, while Hampden is east of the Falls along the ridge and north of 33rd Street. Stone Hill is a Hampden neighborhood that was formerly part of the Mount Vernon Mills and now consists of 46 stone houses located in the southeast corner of the community. Because of the strong homogeneity of all these neighborhoods as well as a common history, the overall community will be referred to as Hampden-Woodberry.

Settlement along the Jones Falls prior to 1800 was sparse and mostly concentrated near the flour mills on the Jones Falls. As early as 1870, as many as 12 mills were located along this stream within four miles of Baltimore. Several, such as Charles T. Ellicott's Old Whitehall Mill, Hugh Jenkins' Laurel Mill and Elisha Tyson's Woodberry Flour Mill were located along the Falls in what is now Woodberry. As the Jones Falls flowed between Rockland and the harbor, it dropped 259 feet as it passed from the Piedmont into the Coastal Plain. The current in the two-mile stretch through what is today Hampden-Woodberry was particularly strong for turning the mill wheels and encouraged growth of other forms of water-powered mills in that region.

Rapid residential development along Jones Falls outside Baltimore City actually began in 1839 when David Carroll and Horatio Gambrill purchased the Whitehall property and built the Whitehall Cotton Factory. With five looms they began the manufacture of cotton duck (canvas) for sails. Three years later, they purchased property in Woodberry and built the Woodberry factory. At this same time clusters of stone workers' houses sprang up adjacent to the mills. These mill hamlets later grew into villages—villages that by the end of the century merged into the urban community of Hampden-Woodberry.

The Baltimore region, particularly the Jones Falls Valley, grew to become the dominant duck producing area of the country. By the turn-of-the-century, prior to the conversion of the flour mills to textiles, nearly all cotton duck in the United States had been manufactured by the Passaic and Phoenix Mills in New Jersey. The

lower price of the Hampden-Woodberry product not only drove New Jersey out of the market but also undercut the prices of the products from the looms of Russia and England. Although the duck market was reduced somewhat by the shortage of raw cotton towards the end of the Civil War, by 1870 the market had recovered and large quantities of duck were being exported through the port of Baltimore to the British colonies and South America as well as to markets in England. The duck industry was so prosperous that, by some estimates, when the world's commerce was carried in sailing ships, it could be said that two-thirds of the sail cloth used in the United States was made at Woodberry.

The major reason that Baltimore could produce duck for a lower price was the lower cost of labor. Baltimore was close to the South where wages were lower than in the North. In addition, within the textile industry, the family was considered the basic unit of production. This basic tradition of family work, each member fulfilling an economic role, carried over from the American farm culture. Usually the household consisted of a husband, wife, their children, and perhaps unattached relatives. Until 1900 proportionally twice as many children were employed in Maryland textile mills than were in the northern mills.

In the early mills along the Jones Falls, a shaft geared to a large water wheel that was turned by water from the stream directed through a mill race delivered power into the mill. This shaft was connected to a series of line shafts from which leather belts running on wooden pulleys transmitted power to machines. These machines actually performed the work of spinning, carding and weaving while the labor force filled and emptied them at regular intervals.

In 1846, when steam power was introduced into the mills, the importance of machines made the skill of machinists important. It was shortly after this, in 1853, that the Poole and Hunt Foundry and Machine Works moved into Woodberry. This firm manufactured steam engines, boilers and double turbine water-wheels as well as every variety of textile mill machinery. Later, they produced the great iron columns in the dome of the National Capitol as well as large naval guns.

The introduction of the new energy source of steam required the use of coal. Hampden and Woodberry were to benefit from this new source because of their close proximity to the Northern Central Railroad, a direct link to sources of cheap coal in Pennsylvania. The combination of the Northern Central Railroad, the Poole and Hunt Foundry and Machine Works, and the many textile mills, was to form the economic base of the community for the next 100 years.

Prior to the 1850s the community consisted of mill hamlets in the valley of the Jones Falls and estates on the ridges overlooking the valley. Much of the land on the ridges, east of Jones Falls, belonged to the estate of General Henry Mankin. This property roughly consisted of the area between 41st and 32nd Streets on the north and south respectively, Wyman Park to the east and Falls Road to the west. In 1856 General Mankin sold about 450 acres to the Hampden Association, a real

estate development corporation. In 1857, J. Morris Wampler prepared a property survey that laid out streets and divided the land into 150 lots.

General Mankin was active in the development of the Falls Turnpike (now Falls Road) and in 1865 became president of the road company. The turnpike from Baltimore had been chartered in 1805 and followed an old Indian trail east of the Jones Falls that passed through the property later owned by him. The turnpike was used extensively by wagons from the grist mills along the Jones Falls and from the quarries in Bare Hills. General Mankin was active in coordinating the efforts of the Mount Vernon Mills and the local hamlets to keep the road in repair. A few houses had been built along this thoroughfare and General Mankin named one of these hamlets of houses Hampden in honor of John Hampden, a patriotic Englishman who opposed the levy of taxes imposed by King Charles I. About the same time that Hampden emerged, Martin Kelly, a local developer, built a group of rowhouses along what is now Hickory and 38th Street and named it Kellyville. Residential Hampden was beginning to take shape.

After the Civil War, the cotton duck industry increased in the valleys and several new mills and mill villages emerged. In 1866 Horatio Gambrill built a large duck mill on Union Avenue and named it Druid Mill. Several years earlier, the Whitehall Mill had burned to the ground and in its place was erected the new Clipper Mill. In 1873 Mount Vernon Mill No. 1, located at the sharp bend on Falls Road, was destroyed by fire and a new mill was built to replace it. In 1877 William E. Hooper erected Meadow Mill, now the home of Londontown Products, near the railroad in Woodberry. Finally, in 1881, an addition was made to Mount Vernon Mill No. 2 that would increase employment to 1,600 people.

As people poured in to work in these new mills, hamlets of workers' homes emerged. Textile employment alone between 1870 and 1880 jumped from 616 to 2,931. In 1880 three out of every four families had one member working in the mills.

At that time the area of what is now modern Hampden and Woodberry consisted of eight villages. The oldest, Mount Vernon, had developed before the 1850s and by 1880 consisted of "Stone Hill" and "Brick Hill" and some brick rowhouses on Chestnut Avenue. The total population for the village was 525.

The pre-1850 village of Woodberry was west of Jones Falls and included a number of stone houses along Clipper Road dating back to the 1840s as well as some new brick houses overlooking the Meadow Mill and known also as "Brick Hill." The population of this village in 1880 was 989.

Around the New Clipper and Druid Mills emerged three mill communities, Druidville with a population of 795, Sweetaire with a population of 911, and Clipper, which included Hooper's Hotel, with a population of 549. Some of the houses here were of stone and dated back to the pre–Civil War period. Each of these hamlets, however, considered itself a separate village.

Hampdentown (Hampden) on the top of the ridge west of Jones Falls had grown to a large village of 2,462 by 1880. During the next decade, much new building took place. As Hampden spread out from its core at Falls Road and what is now 37th Street, new villages emerged to the north and south. Northwest of Union Avenue, the village of Hampden in Woodberry with a population of 350 in 1880 merged with the old village of Hampden between 38th and 41st Streets. To the south, on the ridge that overlooks the Mount Vernon Mills near 33rd Street, developed the community called Hampden Heights.

In 1888, Baltimore City incorporated the large mill town of Hampden-Woodberry, along with its many villages. As the town became a Baltimore community, each village developed into a neighborhood. In spite of the electric street car lines that linked the community to the city after 1890, Hampden-Woodberry never developed into a true urban suburb. Most of the residents worked within the community well into the 1920s. The mill payrolls ensured that the community retained its identity as a large, self-sustaining mill town in an urban setting.

One of the major characteristics of Hampden-Woodberry was that the local mills and foundry remained in the hands of local families well into the twentieth century. The roots of each family went back to the early nineteenth century when the first generation started from meager surroundings to establish their businesses. Each generation that followed felt some responsibility for the business and up through the first decade of the twentieth century some responsibility for community.

For at least three generations the mill owners and managers lived comfortably in spacious houses within the community. Some of these houses still stand, witness to the successful years of the cotton duck industry. Some bring to mind names like Carroll, Gambrill, Poole, Hooper and Timanus, a close-knit economic and political oligarchy who married among themselves and wielded power within Baltimore far beyond the boundaries of Hampden-Woodberry.

David Carroll and his son, Albert, fathered the Mount Vernon Mills No. 1 and 2, and lived in two spacious houses on the ridge northwest of the mills (now Florence Crittenton Home and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals). In 1878, David Carroll built an "elegant and beautiful Gothic Church" on the corner of what is now 33rd and Chestnut Streets and donated it to the Methodist Episcopal Church. His eldest son, the Rev. D. H. Carroll, was a Methodist minister, while his daughter married J. T. Timanus, a member of the mill-owning Timanus family that in 1904 produced a mayor of Baltimore City. David Carroll's background was a strong influence on the banning of bars and saloons within several miles of the community. His obituary stressed his defense of mill workers from the "temptations and evils incident to the industrial classes."

The Hooper family with six generations in the textile industry and five of these in Woodberry probably influenced the community over a longer period than any other family. Some members lived in a mansion on Woodberry Avenue

while others lived outside the community. The first William started the business in Baltimore in the early 1800s and his son, William E., was the dynamic force that moved the business to Woodberry. By 1866, he had acquired from the Carrolls and Gambrills all the mills in Hampden-Woodberry except the two Mount Vernon Mills. He had seven children, one of whom, James E., married Robert Poole's daughter, Sarah, while another, Alcaeus, became mayor of Baltimore in 1895.

James E. brought paternalism to its height as he watched over his mill workers like a shepherd over his flock. Under his leadership, the company expanded into the Parkdale area of Woodberry and built the Hooperwood Mill in 1904.

The next three generations of Hoopers were associated with residents of Hampden-Woodberry and continued the tradition into the twentieth century. Robert P., son of James E., established his own textile firm in Philadelphia and then later bought the Woodberry plants from his brother. His son, James E., ran the Woodberry plant for over 40 years. Robert, known to the mill workers as "Old R. P.," was like a major general as he made his annual inspection of the mills. Several of Hampden's living residents recall the excitement that ensued when it was announced that "Old R. P." was going to make his annual visit. This was the only time in the year when mops and brooms were plentiful. Although he completed his inspections and found the mills always spotless, he was shrewd enough to know that the mill wasn't normally kept that way. Always playing the role of general, he ran the mills, as well as his mill-employed son and grandsons, with an extremely firm hand until he died in his eighties.

Another entrepreneur who helped build the Hampden-Woodberry community was Robert Poole. A machinist by profession, he constructed in Woodberry one of the best foundry and machine shops in the nation. His residence, Maple Hill, the present site of Robert Poole School, stood on the crest of a hill overlooking the Jones Falls Valley. Always identifying with the locale, he gave much of his wealth back to the community in the form of buildings. His family maintained their roots there also as his daughter married James E. Hooper while his son-in-law, Robert P. Simpson, became director of the Poole Company and president of the Bank of Hampden.

Other distinguished Baltimore families owned interests in the mills and many, like the sons of Horatio Gambrill, continued to live in Hampden and run their fathers' mills. Others, such as the descendants of Hugh Jenkins and his son-in-law, Col. William Kennedy, lived outside the community but maintained vested interests in the Mount Vernon Mills. Kennedy became president of the firm while David Carroll was the manager. For almost a century Kennedy's descendants with names such as Boone, Cromwell, and Jenkins were active in that firm. This continuity of ownership and interest in the industries of Hampden-Woodberry was unusual by American standards and may help to explain the continuity of values and traditions that persist there to this day.

These owners and managers of the mills embodied nineteenth-century paternalism. Each company perceived itself as a large family and the workers within it as its children. Because each mill's own management and organization was structured along family and kinship lines, it was only natural for them to employ entire families where possible. Family hiring was advantageous since recruitment was simplified and control of the work force much easier.

An example of this family control was illustrated in 1906. Fifty bobbin boys walked out of the Meadow Mill in an attempt to get a higher wage. This act did not appeal to their fathers who depended on their sons' income. The strike ended when one father spanked his son in public and sent him back to work.

This paternalism was particularly evident during the period when James E. Hooper and Albert H. Carroll were running their respective mills. At Carroll's funeral in 1882, the factory and church bells tolled while "the hilltops and roadsides were thronged with men, women, and children, as the cortege passed." In 1908 when Hooper was dying in Rehobeth, Delaware, he is supposed to have said "my last earthly wish will be gratified when my workers come down to see me."

Paternalism and the family concept was linked closely with company housing for workers. Company housing became a major part of the textile mill system of maintaining an acquiescent work force and as compensation for low wages. The mill owners, like heads of all families, took over the burden of supplying shelter for their workers. In the nineteenth century, the Hoopers built Hooper's Hotel, sometimes called "The Boarding House," located northwest of Clipper Mill. It accommodated 250 young girls who worked in the mills and offered them free piano lessons and concerts. These young ladies were apparently well chaperoned in parlors furnished by the hotel for receiving visitors.

The owners in Hampden not only encouraged some workers to live in mill housing at rents as low as 75 cents a week but also encouraged many others to save their money to buy a house. The owners in 1865 formed the First Building Association. Within five years over 100 residents had bought their own houses. The Provident Saving Bank and the Bank of Hampden opened in 1866 and 1910 respectively with the management of both in the hands of the mill owners. This close relationship allowed many mill workers during the 1880s to pay as little as $125 for an entire house. Even as late as the 1920s, a house could be purchased for as little as $1,650. Paternalism by the mill owners appears to have been effective in improving the family atmosphere. As late as 1921, a newspaper reported that there was about the whole place a homelike feeling with everybody speaking to everybody else. For almost a century the community was to remain within the grasp of these powerful, at times benevolent, often authoritarian but always paternalistic mill owners.

Most of the people of both Hampden and Woodberry are many generations American with their roots going back to the nation's early years. Over 95 percent of the residents 100 years ago were native born. Most of them were born on farms

in Baltimore, Howard, and Carroll Counties, and later migrated to the mills along the Patapsco, Gwynns Falls and Jones Falls. Many again migrated into Hampden and Woodberry from mill villages near Ellicott City and Laurel, Maryland.

Periodically Virginians have come to work in the mills. In 1880, over 15 percent of the workers in the Mount Vernon Mills were born in Virginia. During both World Wars recruiters went south to find workers. Exact figures are not available but the William E. Hooper Company estimates they brought in at least 100 families during World War II from Virginia and North Carolina. Most integrated easily into the community but a few were seen as "hillbillies" in spite of having worked at low wages in southern mills. Among the jokes told about these few was the one that they made so much money in Woodberry that they had to take a week off to spend it. Some of these returned to their homes in the South after each war, while others waited many years until retirement from the mills.

Child labor was one of the mainstays of the industry until 1900 when the Child Labor Laws were enforced. In 1880, over one in four workers in the Mount Vernon Mills was under 15 years of age. After 1900, the practice didn't stop but children under sixteen were required to obtain a permit and could work on specific jobs for specific hours. As late as the 1920s Winnie Lytle worked as a bobbin boy at age 12, while Richard Meads, at age 14, had a job in the Meadow Mill at "carrying off"—the removal of full spools of yarn from the machine by wagon. Among the women, Hester Worden remembers having to obtain a permit to work as a "tube winder" at age 16.

Working hours in the textile mills were long and for children very fatiguing. In the late nineteenth century the work was 12 hours a day from 6:00 in the morning to 6:00 at night. By the First World War, the work week had dropped to 54 hours. By the 1940s, the 40-hour week came in, and most worked 8 hour shifts from 7 until 3:30 or 3:30 until midnight.

Because textile wages were low, the family had to work as a unit to meet basic economic needs. The average wage of $16 a week for the Woodberry Mills in the 1920s totals to about $800 a year, which was below the $900 minimum level for the United States at that time. For this reason, most of the male heads of household did not work in the cloth-producing part of the mill but instead worked as carpenters and mechanics in maintenance sections where the pay was higher. Many others even found this pay low and found employment outside the mill. In 1923 the Mount Vernon Woodberry Mills employed 470 men and 463 women, but almost a third of these men were employed on outside work repairing the 280 company houses and other company property.

Prior to the introduction of social security, older workers found that they could not afford to retire. In 1925 almost half of the employees of the Mount Vernon Woodberry Company were over forty. The company's pension list of 27 aged employees gave the average length of service as 49 years with the longest

service being 69 years. Margie Fletcher recounts how her mother worked in the mill from the time she was seven until she was in her sixties. When social security finally arrived, it came as a blessing to those who had spent as much as 60 years in the mills and were receiving pensions of only $8 per month.

In spite of long hours on their feet, textile mill hands did not have to endure the assembly-line manner of repeated operations found in other industries. In weaving, spinning, carding and warping, individual workers controlled the machines they were operating. Their pace was determined by the number of machines they had to tend and not by the speed of the machines. If looms were running well, weavers could afford to walk around and chat with each other. This flexibility in work routines encouraged sociability and made jobs more pleasurable. One worker who left William E. Hooper Company to work for higher wages at the G. M. Chevrolet plant found the pace there too demanding and returned to work in Woodberry.

If the "boss" or foreman in the mill was good-natured, the relaxed work pace allowed the younger members to participate in some interesting activities. Hilda Meads remembers that sometimes in the winter when her machines were running well and she had an hour or so before she had to "doff them off"—remove full spool and replace with empty—she was allowed to slip out and go sledding behind the mill. Another worker remembers skinny-dipping in Jones Falls during work hours and being caught by the police. Hester Worden remembers how the young female tube winders in the Mount Vernon Mill played pranks on the older women workers and how their boss always stood up for them before the outraged victims.

The physical working conditions had certain drawbacks. In the picking and carding rooms the air was often thick with "flyings" that made breathing difficult and some workers developed constant coughs. Fenton Hoshall recalls watching the cotton fly off the women mill hands as they returned home from work. He remembers also the kind of cotton that the William E. Hooper Company used. Grown around Biloxi, Mississippi, a lot of red clay had become mixed with it and when the bales were opened and thrown into the hoppers a red dust arose and coated the walls of the room. For this operation workers were required to wear masks. In spite of these safety requirements, workers still reported as late as the 1940s having developed chronic coughs and excessive weight loss.

The William E. Hooper Company mill made a type of duck that was asbestos on one side and cotton on the other. The asbestos side was put next to the roller to keep the cloth from burning. The two looms that did the weaving were affectionately called "Big Liz" and "Little Mary."

Sometimes the dust became unbearable, especially when sweepings were put into machines to make a cheap rope called "shoddy" or a cheap padding for insulation. When armfuls of these sweepings were thrown into the hoppers, too often old snuff cans were mixed in the pile. These cans would bang about in the machin-

ery, cause sparks and eventually ignite a fire. Although the operators could usually put out the fires themselves, the clean-up afterwards of the stinking wet dust and dirt in the tanks was unpleasant to say the least.

In general, the mills were a flexible source of income to the extended family and employment often varied with the personal and economic condition of the family at specific times. Family tradition as well as family connections played a role in attracting some sons and daughters to follow their parents into working for the mills. For many of the young, the pressure from peers to drop out of school and go to work nearby their homes was extremely tempting. For a large segment of the working population of Hampden-Woodberry, the mills became a way of life, at times difficult and unpleasant but at other times rewarding due to the sociability and interdependence required by the type of work.

As America entered the twentieth century, the rate of economic, social and political change in the large cities such as Baltimore increased rapidly. Baltimore hummed with activity as her industries grew in scale and thousands of east and south Europeans poured in to fill the expanding industrial labor force. The community of Hampden-Woodberry witnessed a slow passing of some of the old order and a partial invasion of the new. While change was rapid and direct in other parts of Baltimore, it was slow and selective in Hampden-Woodberry.

The textile economy of Hampden-Woodberry changed slowly while the paternalistic social structure and the community leadership by the mill owners began a rapid decline. With the death of James E. Hooper in 1908, and David Carroll in 1912, the last of the strong, paternalistic, local mill-owners, Hampden-Woodberry lost two men who possessed what the Hampden-Woodberry *Times* called "a tradition of concern."

From that time onwards, fewer and fewer owners resided in the community and fewer and fewer of them took an interest in the community as a whole. Most were caught up in the managerial revolution taking place throughout the nation whereby companies were run by professional managers and the owners consisted of multiple stockholders who cared only about profit margins. In 1899 New York investment interests became involved with all the local textile companies as well as others outside Baltimore in a consolidation of all cotton duck manufacturers. This consolidation involved seven companies and 14 mills and lasted until 1915. In that year the William E. Hooper and Sons Company withdrew from the group, sold some of its older mills, and built a new mill in Woodberry. This company, unlike the others, continued to be owned and managed by one family.

During this period of change throughout the United States, when the corporations consolidated and grew, the labor movement was gathering new strength. The union movement was growing in Baltimore and by the turn of the century most Baltimore industrial firms were feeling the pressure from workers' organizations for social change.

The relations between labor and management in Hampden-Woodberry, if compared to those other communities in Baltimore and other cities in the United States, were relatively passive. The paternalistic practices of the textile industry there apparently kept labor unrest to a minimum. The first strike in over 50 years of operation occurred in February, 1906, when 35 girls who had no union and no recognized leader walked out of the Meadow Mill of the Mount Vernon–Woodberry Cotton Duck Company. Shortly afterwards 50 bobbin boys followed suit by demanding more than the $14 a month they were receiving. The strike was settled by granting the girls a $2 per month wage increase while the boys were forced by their irritated fathers to go back to work without any pay increase.

During World War I, several factors combined to increase labor unrest in the community. The demand for labor strengthened the worker's bargaining power, while the enlarged profits of the local mills diminished the resistance of employers to increases in pay. By 1916 the Textile Workers Union No. 977 had over 1,000 members among the workers of the Mount Vernon–Woodberry Company and it soon began bargaining with the management. A strike was averted for several months until July 26, 1917, when 1,600 of the 2,200 workers walked out, claiming that the $2 per day minimum wage was not enough. The national union of which No. 977 was a branch refused to sanction the strike because demands were considered unreasonable. The company agreed to grant a 10 percent bonus to last until the end of the war. Although most employees wanted a 15 percent bonus, they eventually agreed to the 10 percent bonus and returned to their machines.

Other strikes took place during this war period. In October, 1916, over 500 workers of the Robert Poole Engineering Company in Woodberry walked out because of dissatisfaction with the distribution of bonuses. The company was a major producer of ammunition and large artillery pieces for the Army. After an appeal for patriotism, a settlement was made and the workers returned to work.

In March, 1918, over 1,500 textile workers at the Mount Vernon–Woodberry firm again walked out. This time the issue was the demand for the closed shop. Two weeks later the strike was called off when management accepted all demands except the 100 percent closed shop. Employees were influenced into returning when addressed by General Robert McWade of the War Department, who, according to the *Sun,* urged them to return for patriotic reasons.

Although the textile industry in Hampden-Woodberry made great profits during World War I, industrial demobilization followed and the two local firms, Hooper and Mount Vernon–Woodberry, along with most other American textile firms, began to experience a gradual decline. The industry nationally had too many competing firms and too much capacity. The pressure of supply on a demand that was not insatiable exerted a depressing effect on prices. Southern competition, antiquated machinery, inefficiency and high labor costs were all factors in the decline.

In the community of Hampden-Woodberry firms curtailed production, tapered their labor forces and cut wages. Immediately after the Armistice in 1919, the Mount Vernon Company reduced wages 17.5 percent and more later until a total cut of 34 percent was reached. The management stated that wages would be increased when business justified it.

A major crisis occurred at the Mount Vernon Mills in April, 1923, when the management announced an increase from 48 to 54 hours a week with only a 7.5 percent increase in wages. Workers reacted with a demand to retain the 48-hour week with an increase of 25 percent. When the company refused this request over 800 workers struck.

After six weeks Mayor Jackson of Baltimore City stepped in and set up a conference to try to bring the opponents together to end the strike. Howard Baetjer, President of the Mount Vernon Mills Corporation, declined the invitation on grounds that the men and women on strike were a minority.

Although neither side would change their position, the mill continued to operate. Little by little, workers from the community began to straggle back. By August, the union finally ruled that those wishing to do so could return to their old jobs. The pressures of unemployment within the community finally forced the union to give in. The strike produced the beginning of the decline of the close relationship between the mill owners and the community. The owners wanted revenge and they obtained it by forcing strike leaders to vacate company housing. A sense of apathy soon developed among many of those who remained. Visitors to the community at that time reported that throughout the mill community bitterness, near poverty, and in some cases despair prevailed. Soon afterwards, in 1925, one of the mills, Clipper Mill, was sold and its cotton manufacturing machinery sent to Alabama. The decline of the textile industry in the community had begun.

A discussion of labor relations in the community cannot be undertaken without mentioning the activities of the William E. Hooper Company and its ability to avert strikes. Since the firm had been owned by one family for five generations, the family identity may have had some influence on workers' loyalty. The company had never been influenced to any degree by outside unions and had formed their own Parkdale Employees Association. Another reason for averting strikes was the high pay. At Hoopers, wages were as good as or better than at their competitors.

Fenton Hoshall, who worked for the company for five years during the 1930s, paints another picture of labor relations at Hooper's. The Parkdale Association, according to him, took $5.20 a year for dues and then returned $5.00 at Christmas to buy a turkey. The union apparently took orders from the Hoopers and was ineffective in raising wages. When workers wanted a raise, they would get the union to invite the President, James E. Hooper, and his vice president to a conference. These two officers would arrive with all their account books. In Hoshall's

words, "They kept telling you how much money they lost last year and the year before. They certainly must have had a pile of it when they started because ever since we knew Hooper he was losing money."

Hoshall felt that unions just take a worker's money. The local union at Hoopers didn't cost workers anything and any outside unions, he felt, probably couldn't have done any better. According to him, there was apparently so little interest in an outside union that the mill hands never even bothered to have an election.

The influence of the mills on the community as a whole began to wane as the inhabitants sought work in other fields. This shifting to other occupations was delayed by the Great Depression and the Second World War, but speeded up afterward. By the time of the demise of the textile industry in 1972 in Hampden-Woodberry, most members of the community were in other occupations.

As the mills began to wane in importance and the city spread out beyond the boundaries of Hampden-Woodberry, the community found itself centrally located as a labor pool for servicing the suburban neighborhoods. Learning a skill and working with tools offered a much brighter future for the average Hampden youth than spending his life in a textile mill. The growth of the Northern Central Railroad and Baltimore's transit system opened new doors for employment, especially for the skills of machinists and mechanics.

After 1900, the demand for housing and the availability of loans for down payments encouraged the growth of the construction industry in Hampden and the employment of many of its youth. By the late 1920s over one-third of the male labor force was associated with the construction trades, while less than half of this number were still working for the mills.

Many of the builders themselves were residents of the community. James Litzinger recounts the story of his father who built over 500 houses in Hampden during this period. After working in the cotton mills where he met his wife who had migrated to Hampden-Woodberry from West Virginia to work in the mills, James' father departed from the textile occupation and entered the plastering business.

The Baltimore fire created the need to rebuild houses and plasterers were kept busy. In 1907 the senior Litzinger shifted into the home-building business and concentrated on rowhouses. His ambition, according to James, was to build, "a good home cheap enough for the poor people to own." Any profit he had in the business he would put up as security for people that couldn't make the down payment—"start them off like a rent."

The building business became a family enterprise. The senior Litzinger brought all four of his sons into the business with him and taught other neighborhood boys the skills of the building trade. The work load was organized so that the oldest son, Charles, supervised the overall work while the second son concentrated on paper hanging and the third on plastering.

Most of the houses in Hampden were constructed between 1907 and 1930. During this period the firm built 40 houses near Keswick and 36th Street, 25 houses near Keswick and 33rd Street, 36 houses in the 2900 block of Keswick and 56 houses on 38th Street.

The business of construction and its related skills has continued to be important to the residents of Hampden-Woodberry. A recent study of city directories reveals large numbers of men employed as carpenters, roofers, plumbers, plasterers, house painters, brick layers and electricians. Many of them work for small local companies that still maintain their headquarters in the local area.

Some of the other older occupations continued to persist in the community well into the 1920s. The railroad employees still clustered together in one neighborhood along Keswick Road south of 33rd Street. Like firemen and policemen, these workers were constantly on call and the Northern Central Railroad insisted that they live close enough to be reached in an emergency.

As the 1930s approached, still other opportunities for employment opened up. Small companies like Noxall and Schenuit offered new diversified jobs for the local labor force.

After the turn of the century, most large American cities felt the surge of immigrants coming from south and east Europe. The port of Baltimore was a major thoroughfare for immigrants entering the United States and a sizeable number remained in the city. Between 1900 and 1920, a small number of these new arrivals found their way into the community of Hampden-Woodberry.

The growth of the service sector in the community during this period encouraged the growth of the small business. Two of the ethnic groups, Jews and Greeks, both of which had a long history of small business experience, moved into the community to fill this need. By 1929, almost two-thirds of the local entrepreneurs were Jewish and one-fifth Greek. Since that time, most of the businesses have remained in the hands of these two ethnic groups. A few of these stores and restaurants have become quite well known throughout the city and have attracted a large clientele from outside the community.

Evidence of the reaction to these new arrivals in the early 1900s by the natives of Hampden-Woodberry is sketchy. Anti-Greek or Jewish activities in the eyes of these ethnic minorities are considered the acts of a few and not an overall community reaction. Lula Cavacos, who arrived from Greece in 1920, tells of the "Woodberry Gang" who broke windows in their store. According to Lula, "Drunks would come into the store and raise their voices." She remembers also how her husband was barred from membership in the Masons because he had angered the neighborhood over an edifice he had constructed. He went to court over the issue and won, which angered his neighbors even more.

Any feelings against the Greeks in the community ended with World War II. Lula headed the Greek War Relief in Baltimore and most of the Hampden com-

munity contributed generously to the Greek cause. Lula's husband was finally accepted into the Masons. Today the Cavacos family is treated with high esteem.

At the turn of the century the inhabitants of Hampden-Woodberry shared a religiously-oriented, family-centered, rural American culture. Most of these people had come from rural Maryland after 1870 and had been thrust into the urban, industrial society. The Baptist and Methodist churches became the dominant denominations, and after the 1880s their influence in the community increased. The peak of this influence was probably in the 1920s, when the community could claim to have more churches per acre than any other section of Baltimore.

The Methodist Church was the most active in the area. In 1883 four of Hampden's nine churches were Methodist, while today eight of the sixteen belong to that same denomination. Reasons for this strength stem from the rural roots of the inhabitants, but the additional support furnished this denomination by the mill owners cannot be overlooked. The Pooles, Hoopers and Carrolls all contributed heavily to the growth of the Methodist church in the community.

The Woodberry Methodist Church, like many other nineteenth century churches, met educational as well as religious needs. By 1880, Woodberry Methodist and its satellite, Clipper Church, had a school with an enrollment of over 1,066 students and 84 teachers. The Sunday School offered both morning and afternoon sessions. Space, however, was still at a premium. Sometimes 105 children and 12 teachers were crowded into one small room.

Hampden-Woodberry first felt the impact of what historians call "the new revivalism" in 1913 when the Hampden Methodist Church founded the Emmanuel Bible Class. This class grew rapidly until it claimed to be the largest adult Bible class in the world. The high point of its life was probably in 1916 when the class went to hear Billy Sunday, the nationally-known evangelist. On that occasion, over 1,200 members of the class marched behind their minister and their 32-piece Emmanuel Band; in front of this was an enormous American flag, spread out across the street and carried by scores of Bible Class members.

Fundamentalism—a religious movement which affected people throughout America—hit Hampden like thunder in 1920 as the Hampden Baptist Church took a lead in "igniting fires of revival." In three consecutive years, over 400 new members joined, the Sunday school doubled, and church contributions multiplied four times. Prior to one of the meetings in 1921, over 500 people paraded through the streets of Hampden behind the church band. At special services the aisles and galleries of the church were overflowing and people were turned away. The 70-voice revival chorus led "in the singing of God's praises and lost people found the Lord."

The personal force behind the large enrollments in the Methodist churches in Hampden-Woodberry during much of this period was Archie Ford. A leader of Emanuel Bible Class for 33 years, Ford was "recognized as a great spiritual leader by the ministerium of Hampden as well as the Maryland Annual Conference of

the Methodist Protestant Church." According to some residents, his missionary zeal was so charismatic that those who remember him speak of him in terms such as having the "patience of Job" or "lived in the manner of Jesus." Ford was so persuasive in convincing people to attend church that he would direct people of any faith to the location of their church and then would contact the minister of that church and advise him of the prospective member. He was never too busy to answer a call from anyone in distress. In the words of his pastor, "I have never met a man, either minister or layman, who I believe lives closer to the heart of Christ than Archie Ford."

The changes that came about in the 1920s might have established a new direction with greater self-determination for the community of Hampden-Woodberry. This was not the case, however, because the Depression struck savagely at this community where employment was concentrated in skills most vulnerable to economic slow-downs. Instead of making a clean break from the paternalism and dependence on the mills, the local inhabitants now found themselves dependent upon the state and federal welfare systems. Depending on charity was a blow to people's pride.

Hampden-Woodberry was one of the areas of Baltimore communities hardest hit in the crash of 1929. Some industries closed down completely, while others cut back production leaving large numbers of local citizens out of work. In 1940, when the Great Depression ended, over 12 percent of the local work force was either unemployed or on public emergency work. This figure was considerably better than in previous years, but still higher than similar areas of Baltimore City.

The burden of survival rested with family and friends, who tried to save the unemployed from having to apply for charity of any kind. This weighed especially heavily with those of old American stock, as found in Hampden-Woodberry, who never asked for charity before. After the breadwinner lost his job and had exhausted his savings, he borrowed from his friends and relatives, sought credit from local stores and landlords, and, finally, as a last resort, asked for charity. Unfortunately, in Hampden-Woodberry too many breadwinners were in the same occupation and help from relatives and other families became difficult.

The hardest hit were mill families because in some cases the mills reduced operations to only three days per week. A weekly wage of $25 was reduced to only $11 or $12. Welfare, when it became a Federal policy, amounted to $19 a week. Apparently, people who worked at all had difficulty receiving any welfare. Many mill workers fell into this category.

Margie Fletcher describes how she raised several children and tried to survive on her husband's pay of $12 a week. "You couldn't buy a job." According to Margie, "people had to obtain water at the store and carry it home. Children were filled up on beans and potatoes. They didn't have steaks and chops in those days. Children seldom received extras like sweets and soft drinks, and they didn't get the

right kind of clothes and shoes. Periodically, a quarter-ton of coal was delivered for heat and cooking but it was never enough. Life was hard."

Different people in the community were affected in different ways. Lula Cavacos, who managed a store, remembers that all the banks closed and everybody was affected. According to her, "Baltimore was nothing. A lot of people came and wanted help and we said we can't—we were in debt ourselves. We held our property by the skin of our teeth. . . ."

Hilda Meads worked in a cotton mill. Her wages were cut to $6 a week. The mill cut costs by increasing work and reducing employment. Fifteen people in one room working ten frames each would be cut to thirteen people working twelve frames each.

In 1933 Franklin D. Roosevelt established the National Recovery Administration with the minimum wage and the 40-hour week. Some of the local residents working for the Hooper Mills at that time remember the firm complying with the new law. The mills ran five and a half days a week at the heart of the Depression, allowing people to take home pay equal to half of their pay during good times. What is historically important to remember is that these Hampden-Woodberry mills struggled through the Depression and did not close down, while many other mills in other parts of the country went out of business.

The construction industry in Hampden was probably hurt even more than the textile industry, which may explain why the community suffered more than most other Baltimore areas. One of three men in the community in 1929 worked in some form of trade associated with construction. Most carpenters and other related tradesmen rapidly joined the unemployed after the banks closed and new construction in Baltimore ceased. Builders like the Litzingers were economically wiped out. Many of those who were suddenly unemployed and had financed their homes through the Litzinger Company now found they could not meet their payments. As a result, most of the Litzinger property went to banks and building associations as security for mortgages that could not be paid. By 1938 much of Hampden-Woodberry's real estate remained in the hands of those banks and building associations.

In spite of these hardships, the community survived. Acceptance of welfare, however, had undercut the ethos of this family-oriented community. Although the approach of World War II with its lucrative war contracts to the local industries brought economic relief, the scars of the Depression have remained ever since. Confidence in family support and in the paternalism of the local employers as a means of economic security had been shattered.

The war made a major economic impact on Hampden-Woodberry. As the United States began to arm itself and its allies after 1939, orders for war materials revived the local industries. By 1940, an extremely heavy volume of business came

to the Mount Vernon–Woodberry Mills, in the form of orders for almost one and a half million packs and parachutes and a million tents.

The wave of patriotism and Americanism that swept over the community after World War I returned. The community can be proud of its contribution to the war effort—not only in its dedication to hard work in the local war industries but also in the great sacrifices of its youth who fought in the war.

As the young men of the community either entered the services or moved to lucrative jobs, an acute labor shortage developed in the textile mills. By 1942 the Mount Vernon Mills were operating three shifts a day and for seven days a week. At the Hooper Mills, according to a manager, "It was a struggle to keep enough employees to keep up production. The shipyards in Baltimore were paying higher wages and a number of the local males found work there."

Immediate solutions were to employ more women, more elderly and to begin recruitment of local blacks for the first time. Hooper Mills sent agents into southern towns to advertise for and recruit labor. Some of the residents of today remember that the Hooper Company brought these "hillbillies" in by the busload from places in Virginia and West Virginia. Many of these had worked in textile mills before, and, therefore, knew all about the work.

A discussion of Hampden-Woodberry in World War II cannot be complete without some reference to the numbers of young men who served in the armed services and who gave their lives. Official statistics are not available to compare communities, but unofficial reports suggest that the Hampden community contributed more than her share to the fighting forces. Two of the young men who participated in the war, Carl Sheridan and Milton Ricketts, gave their lives and won the nation's highest award, the Congressional Medal of Honor.

World War II was almost an anti-climax for the local textile industry. Production was cut as the war ended and a five-year lull followed until the Korean War. This was the final effort and then everything was downhill. The synthetics evolution hit the community hard. Mount Vernon–Woodberry Mills were better prepared than Hooper's because they had begun synthetics in 1948 and had a number of southern mills. Hooper was almost bankrupt, and in 1961 the firm sold much of its property and machinery to Mount Vernon. Mount Vernon closed out its last two remaining mills in 1972, moving all Hampden operations to South Carolina. Today, W. E. Hooper still exists at its Parkdale Plant but makes cotton products on a very small scale. Today, Rockland Industries occupies some parts of the Mount Vernon Mills and employs about 38 people in synthetics. The token work-force in textiles is a far cry from the war years of three decades ago when thousands toiled over the looms.

During the last three decades American cities have passed through a period of extreme social and economic change. The flight to the suburbs by a large segment

of the white population has disrupted the social and economic structure of many of Baltimore's old neighborhoods. The community of Hampden-Woodberry, on the other hand, has survived much of this social revolution by its geographical isolation and its selectivity in its choices for change. By clinging to some of the traditions of the nineteenth century mill village, the community has resisted changes that might easily have destroyed it.

The community, however, has not been untouched by the impact since 1950 of the changing Baltimore society around it. An awareness exists today that much social and economic change is inevitable. The major problem faced by the community is how to retain identity in the ever changing, turbulent, urban world. To survive as a community within this social and economic dilemma, the people of Hampden and Woodberry have chosen to preserve certain aspects of their past.

One of these links with the past is the strong sense of Americanism that swept through the community in the early 1920s. The importance of parades and identity with American nationalistic ideals are still major ingredients of today's community spirit. The Hampden posts of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars are some of Baltimore's most active sponsors of parades and other activities that honor America's military heritage. Thirty-sixth Street probably hosts more parades per year than any other section of Baltimore.

Hampden-Woodberry's social life has been built not only around the many churches but also around numerous social clubs. Many of these clubs date back to the early textile days and have retained a strong hold on the community. Few towns and cities in America today can boast that they have a Tecumseh Tribe of the Improved Order of the Red Men similar to the very active one in Hampden. Many of the community's 55 other social clubs have distinctive names such as Barn Burners, Pocahontas and Eastern Star Electra.

This exceptional social club activity may stem from the rural roots of the community with its strong Anglo-Saxon ethnic homogeneity. Perhaps these clubs were encouraged by the paternalistic mill owners as a substitute for strong local trade union activity. Whatever the reasons, these social institutions are links with the past and have helped to strengthen community identity.

Another heritage from the mill days is the emphasis on home-ownership. In 1960, three out of four families owned the houses they lived in. Today, the figure is a little less but the community is still one of the most stable in the entire city.

The impact of change that has taken place in the community since the 1950s is quite visible. No greater change has occurred than in the structure of the local labor force. In 1925, almost the entire work force in the local industries came from local white residents. Today black workers dominate the labor forces of Londontown, Pepsi Cola and others although they still do not reside within the community.

A sizeable number of inhabitants still work in the local plants, but many more work elsewhere. Many of the men today have the same skills and occupations as

their fathers and grandfathers but with better incomes. Most are able to drive to their place of work in other sections of Baltimore.

Another visible change has taken place along the main shopping district of 36th Street. The advent of mass automobile ownership and the opening of nearby shopping centers has hurt local trade. Some of the old favorites such as the New System Bakery and Cavacos Drug Store still operate, but other former quality services have given way to cheap, tacky-looking ones. A generation of Baltimoreans grew up on the Saturday double features at the Hampden and Ideal Theatres. The shabby substitutes for these once colorful theatres reveal the impact of television and the social changes that it has brought.

Education in Hampden-Woodberry has changed. More of the young today are completing high school than ever before. The lure of the mills and the peer pressure to quit school and work is not as strong as it was in former years. Jobs for the young are not as easy to find; jobs today require more education.

The arrival of Blacks at Robert Poole Junior High became a major crisis during the 1960s and early 1970s. Few "outsiders" had ever attended this school before. The school had more or less been the private domain of the community. Since then, most citizens have recognized that the city around them is changing rapidly and that the effects of some of these changes on Hampden are inevitable.

Hampden-Woodberry, once a Republican stronghold, exerted considerable political influence in Baltimore at the turn of the century. Today, local political power appears to have almost vanished. No resident of Hampden sits on the City Council. It seems almost lost in the political power struggles between the Black wards to its west and the more affluent White wards to its north and east.

Things have changed from the days when Hampden was at its peak of political power. At one time, two of its sons were Republican Mayors of Baltimore. Alcaeus Hooper, the first Republican Mayor in 1895 and son of the founder of the Hooper Mills, was a strong force for reform in city politics. He defeated the Gorman-Rasin machine and brought about reforms in the School Board, Health Department, and other city agencies. The second Republican Mayor, E. Clay Timanus, had been president of the City Council. He became mayor after the Great Fire of 1904.

The commmunity began to shift to the Democratic Party during the 1920s. How much the influx of staunchly Democratic southern whites into the community altered balance is not known. What is known is that Hampden became the battleground in the struggle for Democratic political power between "Boss" Curran and "Boss" Pollack. This struggle between these bosses and their machines lasted well into the 1940s. Part of the struggle resulted from the gerrymandering that created the new 4th District to include Hampden-Woodberry and the newly settled Jewish suburbs to the northwest.

Several local Hampden politicians came to minor prominence in the city during this period. One of these who stands out was Frank C. Robey, who rose

from weaver at the Hooper Mills to a 36-year position as Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for the city. Robey personifies Hampden politicians of the period because he was forced to walk carefully the political tightrope between the Pollack and Curran machines.

In 1946, the Hampden-Woodberry Democratic Organization was established to oppose "Boss" Pollack. In the words of Paul Nevin, one of the more recent political leaders, "The Hampden-Woodberry sector has been nothing but a doormat for the rest of the 4th District."

Whether this challenge to the machine was the beginning of Hampden' political downfall is not clear. In any case, Hampden-Woodberry has become almost a political pawn in the hands of various outside city political factions. In the 1960s, the community was split into three parts so that three different City Councilmen represented a part of the community. By this division the very base for any political unity was destroyed.

In spite of all these challenges to Hampden-Woodberry's unity, the community as a whole persists. Journalists have commented, scholars have argued but no one seems to have come forth with a plausible answer for Hampden's solidarity.

Certainly geographic isolation and cultural homogeneity have played a major part. Much of the mill village still persists. Perhaps the answer to cultural persistence lies with the one hundred years as a textile mill town. Perhaps the artificiality of the original mill hamlets themselves with their strong family and mill orientation established the very roots to which the present community can cling.

The problem in Hampden-Woodberry today is one of identity. How much longer can a village survive in the turbulent urban world? Twentieth-century economic and social changes take over everyday life. Are the nineteenth-century village roots strong enough to survive and hold the community intact?

Today, great trailer trucks loaded with cases of Pepsi Cola and cartons of London Fog overcoats squeeze through the narrow streets where once small children carried the hot noon meal to their families in the mill. The gray stone Druid Mill, (its textile innards gutted for the manufacture of styrofoam picnic buckets) gazes down on all the activity along Union Avenue. The great bell tower of Meadow Mill, now emblazoned with a large L for Londontown, overlooks all this activity and appears to be saying with a smile, "Twentieth Century, you may have taken over but you can never conceal those of us whose roots are anchored in the nineteenth-century textile industry."

NOTES

1. The major sources for this paper were the U.S. Manuscript Census for the community and the Baltimore City Directories for the periods 1870 to 1930. Over 1174 people were traced for a fifty-year period after 1880. In addition almost fifty members of the community were inter-

viewed. Most of these had worked in the mills at one time or another. Much information was obtained also from the Baltimore City and County newspapers of the period. Important industrial figures were obtained from the Wm. E. Hooper Company and from the *Annual Reports of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics of the State of Maryland.* Of special importance was the 1924 social study of the community, *The Cotton Mill Workers on Jones Falls* by Elizabeth Otey. The Hopkins Atlas of 1877, the Thompson Atlas of 1889, and the Sanborn Atlases of 1905 and 1914 were important sources for determining property locations and specific holdings.

Comment

The geographical isolation and cultural homogeneity of Hampden-Woodberry still provides a certain unity and solidarity to the community. In recent years, however, the central location of Hampden-Woodberry is expanding. Baltimore has caused housing values to rise astoundingly and the end of the escalation seems barely in sight. Many properties have been rehabilitated, remodeled, and upgraded. Old factory and mill buildngs turned into offices, studios for artists, a flourishing sports complex, and venues for specialty businesses. The Rotunda is now to undergo its second transformation.

The Avenue, 36th Street, has been undergoing gentrification with the establishment of popular restaurants and boutiques, and more seem destined to come. These stores and restaurants cater to people from outside the community, yet pride in Hampden remains. During the Christmas season 34th Street between Keswick and Chestnut Avenues is a blaze of lights and holiday symbols that attracts visitors from all over the city and fosters Hampden's spirit. The sense of Americanism is still strong as evidenced by patriotic displays, parades, and remaining patrotic organizatons. As time passes, more ethnic diversity and tolerance of racial differences will come to Hampden, but such changes come slowly.

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Women in Relief: The Carroll County Children's Aid Society in the Great Depression

PATRICIA W. AND RALPH B. LEVERING

In a recent historiographical essay Otis L. Graham, Jr. noted that "for the most part historians still regard the 1930s as the era of FDR and the New Deal."[1] Such a perspective overlooks the third of the decade before Roosevelt took office and the even longer period before most New Deal programs had their full impact at the local level. Furthermore, as Bernard Sternsher has pointed out, there has been a tendency to neglect local history as a means of understanding the varied responses of communities to the Great Depression.[2] And even where local communities have been studied, they almost invariably have been large cities (e.g., Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, and New Orleans) in which local resources frequently were exhausted by early 1932.[3]

By concentrating on the relief work of a voluntary organization in a largely rural county in central Maryland during the early 1930s, we seek to provide some insights into these relatively neglected areas. The question of how people coped in the years before government was effectively mobilized to help is the focus of this study.

Located in the piedmont midway between Baltimore and Frederick, Carroll County in 1930 had a population of 35,978, the eighth largest of Maryland's twenty-

1. Otis L. Graham, Jr., "The Age of the Great Depression, 1929–1940," in William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson, Jr., eds., *The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture* (Washington, D.C., 1973), p. 491.

2. Bernard Sternsher, ed., *Hitting Home: The Great Depression in Town and Country* (Chicago, 1970), p. 36. "Its [local history's] neglect is quite apparent in the case of the Great Depression," Sternsher writes. "In general, historians have focused on the Hoover administration, emphasizing the formulation of policy and its effects from the standpoint of men in Washington looking outward across the nation, or of men across the nation fixing their sight on the national capital" (*ibid.*, pp. 36–37).

3. See, for example, Bonnie Fox Schwartz, "Unemployment Relief in Philadelphia, 1930–1932: A Study in the Depression's Impact on Voluntarism," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 92 (January 1969): 86–108; Bruce M. Stave, "Pittsburgh and the New Deal," and Lyle W. Dorsett, "Kansas City and the New Deal," in John Braeman, Robert H. Bremner, and

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three counties.[4] The county had diversified agriculture, mostly grains and livestock; numerous small towns with a few scattered industries, mostly in Westminster (pop. 4,463), the county seat; and a tradition of self-reliance and community pride. With a relatively stable population after the 1890s due to outmigration to the burgeoning cities, and with depressed prices for farm produce beginning in the early 1920s, the county by 1929 was not unlike many other rural areas throughout the United States.[5]

Before comprehensive state and federal social welfare programs were developed in the mid-1930s, responsibility for aid to the destitute in Maryland, as in most other parts of the country, had been assumed largely by private, voluntary organizations.[6] One such organization was the Maryland Children's Aid Society, founded in 1911 by leaders of the Henry Watson Children's Aid Society of Baltimore to provide services to needy children in rural areas of the state. Between 1911 and the mid-1930s twelve county or district offices were established, serving most parts of the state. Being in the business of caring for needy children and seeking to improve their home environments, the Carroll County Children's Aid Society readily perceived the effects of the Great Depression on local families. And being the only welfare agency well-organized and countywide in its outreach, the Carroll County branch quite naturally assumed the additional duties of relief work. In so doing, the Children's Aid Society became the most important organization in helping Carroll Countians survive the Great Depression.[7]

The Carroll County branch of the Maryland Children's Aid Society was formally organized in December 1928 at a public meeting held in the Westminster fire hall and attended by many leading citizens from throughout the county. According to Miss Louise Matthews, daughter of Westminster mayor George W. Matthews,

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David Brody, eds., *The New Deal,* 2 vols. (Columbus, 1975), 2: 376–419; and Roman Heleniak, "Local Reaction to the Great Depression in New Orleans, 1929–1933," *Louisiana History*, 10 (Fall 1969): 289–306. Albert U. Romasco provides a useful discussion of social welfare problems in the early 1930s, focusing on New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit, in his *The Poverty of Abundance: Hoover, the Nation, the Depression* (New York, 1965), pp. 143–72.

4. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population,* III, Part I, 1052–54.

5. Nancy M. Warner, Ralph B. Levering, and Margaret Taylor Woltz, *Carroll County, Maryland: A History, 1837–1976* (Westminster, Md., 1976), pp. 123–90.

6. Two valuable overviews are June Axinn and Herman Levin, *Social Welfare: A History of the American Response to Need* (New York, 1975) and Robert H. Bremner, *From the Depths; The Discovery of Poverty in the United States* (New York, 1956). The best study of social work during the 1920s and early 1930s is Clarke A. Chambers, *Seedtime of Reform; American Social Service and Social Action, 1918–1933* (Minneapolis, 1963). A useful study concentrating on Maryland is Edward J. O'Brien, *Child Welfare Legislation in Maryland, 1634–1936* (Washington, D.C., 1937).

7. Warner, Levering, and Woltz, *Carroll County,* pp. 184–85.

interest in organizing the branch developed when appeals for aid to Mayor Matthews and to Mrs. Frank T. Myers, a concerned, prominent citizen of Westminster, became too great for them to handle.[8] The initial meeting was held in the home of Mrs. Joseph N. Shriver, a native of Baltimore, who knew about the Children's Aid Society and probably suggested that organization as the vehicle for helping Carroll County children in need. However, according to several county women who knew her, Mrs. Shriver was not interested in socializing with the local women and, in any event, had nothing further to do with the Carroll County branch of the Children's Aid Society.

The real organizing work was done by Mrs. Myers. With the help of Miss Katherine T. Kirwan, executive secretary of the state organization, she travelled throughout the county, held twelve meetings and contacted "more than 225 people," and appointed fifteen district chairmen, all of whom were women. Miss Kirwan, who attended the first few meetings of the new branch, provided information about the objectives of the society and advice on raising money and hiring a trained social worker. She pointed out that the society was designed to help all people in need, irrespective of race or religion.[9]

Although Mrs. Elizabeth Reinecke was named president at the organizational meeting because Mrs. Myers had declined the position, Mrs. Myers was very soon again at the head of the organization, where she remained for many years. Mrs. Myers was married to one of the partners in Westminster's leading paper-hanging business. Having no children of her own, she devoted much of her energy to helping other people's children, not only in the Children's Aid Society but also in organizations such as the "Porto Rican Child Feeding Committee" and the Juvenile Court Committee.[10]

The society believed that "to every child belongs the right to be well-born, to an education, to protection from child labor, to be morally safeguarded and to be spiritually trained."[11] Children were removed from their homes into the care of

8. Interview with Miss Louise Matthews, March 1976. Implicit in the need for an organization was the need for a trained social worker. As the Carroll County branch noted in an early fund-raising letter: "For many years the Maryland Children's Aid has been giving service to our county, it has found homes for our children, it has loaned us a trained worker to look into our most difficult family situations but now our appeals are so many that we cannot do without our own worker" (Undated fund-raising letter, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, in files of Maryland Children's Aid and Family Services Society, Towson, Maryland [hereinafter cited as MCAFSS files]).

9. Minutes, January 10, 1929, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, MCAFSS files.

10. *Democratic Advocate* (Westminster), July 17, 1931.

11. In a fund-raising brochure issued in 1916–17, the Maryland Children's Aid Society listed its objectives as follows:

1. Looking into the circumstances and needs of each child applying or reported to the Society.

the Children's Aid Society only when immorality, desertion, non-support, feeble-mindedness, or other social factors which could not be corrected were present. They were never removed when poverty was the only existing problem. Believing that the child was better off in his own home, the society made every effort possible to improve the home environment before the child was removed to be put in a boarding, free, or wage home, or state institution. And the goal remained to return the child to his own home as soon as possible. The person responsible for making these decisions and providing the counseling was Miss Bonnie M. Custenborder, a native of Ohio who came to Carroll County as a social worker trained by the Maryland Children's Aid Society. She began her work in Carroll County on June 1, 1929.

To those acquainted with the work of the Children's Aid Society, Miss Custenborder was its embodiment. Having no children and no other family in the area, she devoted herself to the children and families of Carroll County, carrying a very heavy caseload and often working even in her off hours. With quiet dignity and sober determination she inspired the confidence and respect of the clients with whom she worked and of the entire community. Although emergency relief was given immediately if necessary, much investigation was required before a case was fully accepted. According to some of her associates, all Miss Custenborder had to do was to sit down and ask how things were going to get the person with whom she was visiting to pour forth all the information she needed for her investigation or report.[12]

The Children's Aid Society was run by a board of directors made up of the president, Mrs. Myers, and other officers and representatives (district chairmen) from the election districts of the county. These volunteers did the work of the organization that did not require social work training, such as organizing sewing committees to make and remake clothing and appeal for good used clothing;

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2. Improving and adjusting conditions in their own homes.
3. Returning children to their own homes or to relatives able to care for them.
4. Securing payments from parents unable to care for their children at home, but able to pay for them in part.
5. Placing children in carefully selected families.
6. Adequately supervising the home and child until he is of age, securing the training and employment which fits him for economic independence.
7. Securing medical or surgical treatment and arranging for convalescent and sanitorial care.
8. Transferring defective children to special institutions for treatment and training.
9. Befriending boys and girls in danger of going wrong.
10. Providing situations for homeless mothers with their babies.

Quoted in *Annual Report of the Executive Director*, Maryland Children's Aid Society, Inc., May 1974, MCAFSS files.

12. Interview with Mrs. Ruth Wagaman, March 1976.

going with children under the care of the society to clinics for physical examinations, vision testing, dental care, psychological testing (usually I.Q.), etc., often driving to Baltimore; going with Miss Custenborder on her visits; organizing Christmas baskets; and conducting financial and educational campaigns. Many board members, prominent women with spare time and often with no children of their own, believed that they, the staff, and "their" children were one big family.[13]

After the first years, financial campaigns consisted largely of door-to-door solicitations for one-dollar memberships and contributions. Lists of those who gave at least the membership fee were printed in the *Democratic Advocate,* a local newspaper. In addition to the names of the majority, mostly women who gave one dollar, were items such as these: Westminster Hardware Company, $1.00; F. W. Woolworth, $1.00; Evelyn Beauty Shop, $1.00; Mr. George Marker, $3.30; Uniform Rank Knights of Pythias, $25.00; Methodist Sunday School, $33.21; Thanksgiving Offering, $14.05. W. F. Myers' Sons and J. Stoner Geiman Company—giving $15.10 and $2.50, respectively—were specially cited because their employees "contributed 100 per cent."[14]

Other organizations helped in various ways. The Kiwanis Club gave ten dollars a month to the babies' milk bill. The Gavel Club and the American Legion set up food donation bins in local stores. The Red Cross gave needed supplies and funneled much of its local relief efforts through the Children's Aid Society. After the first year, the county commissioners contributed at least $2,000 annually toward the society's budget, which rose from approximately $4,000 in 1930, to $6,500 in 1932, to $12,300 in 1934.[15]

As the reports of the district chairmen at the board of directors' monthly meeting on April 11, 1929, indicate, the society's strengths in the early years derived from enthusiasm and broad-based support:

> Miss Trump reported $54.00 collected. Also that the Sunshine Club had offered its assistance in sewing and in various ways.
> Mrs. Nusbaum's dist. had made dresses, helped a family to move and had $135. in treas.
> Mrs. Taylor of Carrollton reported help from the Church Aid Soc., the receipt of shoes, and $23 in treas.
> Hampstead reported having sent out 50 letters. Mrs. J. William Kelbaugh had been appointed treas.
> Sykesville received 15 new members and had hot [sic] materials with the

13. Interviews with Mrs. Irene Shunk and Mrs. Ruth Wagaman, March 1976; *Democratic Advocate,* February 5, 1932.
14. *Democratic Advocate,* April 22, 1932.
15. Financial Statement, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, February 11, 1931; February 1, 1933; February 1, 1935; MCAFSS files.

> contribution of $10 from their W.C.T.U. They had also rec'd a large package of good old clothes.
> Mrs. Myers of Westminster said the Drive was on and so far they had rec'd $205. They had helped a family made destitute by a fire with a 2 ton truck load of articles.
> Mrs. Baker of Woolery's said that a fire in her dist. had waked the people up to the necessity of an organization like ours. The family had been helped . . . Mrs. Buckingham a semi-invalid had offered to do sewing for the society free of charge.[16]

Although handicapped by lack of funds during its first year of operation (1929), the Carroll County Children's Aid Society developed a solid organization at both the district and county level, hired Miss Custenborder as paid social worker, and concentrated on its goal of helping disadvantaged children. But helping the children meant becoming involved with their families. As Miss Custenborder said in her annual report presented in February 1930:

> Social case work is working with or directing individual families in their human relationships, guiding them into a normal way of living—cultivating personalities or traits of character that will enable the individual to become self-supporting and assisting them to solve their own problems of earning a livelihood and making life a success.[17]

Often the underlying cause of the neglect of the child was an unemployed father. Consequently finding jobs for people (primarily men) became an important part of Miss Custenborder's work. In one report on "Outstanding Cases," for example, she noted that "a man applied for work, has ten children. Went several places trying to get something for him. Not successful to date."[18]

In 1930, as the effects of the depression became more and more apparent in Carroll County, Miss Custenborder's secondary role of helping families became increasingly important. The Children's Aid Society, through its already established channels, also became the vehicle for most of the relief work done in the county. Although churches and civic organizations were concerned about helping unfortunate countians, much of their work was inspired by the Children's Aid Society. Moreover, they depended on the society for distributing the money and goods they raised.

The society made two special appeals in 1930. In September, because of the

16. Minutes, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, April 11, 1929, MCAFSS files.
17. *Democratic Advocate*, February 14, 1930.
18. Report for September and October, 1930, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, MCAFSS files.

drought which had made fruit and vegetables scarce, Mrs. Myers suggested that friends of the cause set aside a jar for the Children's Aid Society when canning. In December the appeal for clothing was particularly dramatic: "A number of children have been reported so badly in need of clothing, that in several cases the children are practically naked."[19]

But the most significant response of the Children's Aid Society to the depressed economic situation was its leadership, in cooperation with the Red Cross, in organizing Carroll County Emergency Relief to help the county's needy unemployed. An article which appeared in the *Democratic Advocate* on December 19, 1930, described the need for this organization and its functions as follows:

> The long drought combined with economic conditions has thrown so many people out of employment. . . . The canning industry with fourteen plants in our county, because of crop failures has operated on scarcely a ten percent basis. The cement plant at Union Bridge is about to shut down due to lack of orders. Congoleum is operating on very short time. In addition, there are crop shortages everywhere, and there was little need for help on the farm. To meet this situation there has been set up an agency known as the Carroll County Emergency Relief. . . It will receive funds and distribute supplies, with the help of the Children's Aid Society, over as wide an area as possible.[20]

The committee, composed largely of businessmen, planned to be active for three months.

As the depression in Carroll County continued to worsen during 1931, the work of the Children's Aid Society increased and expanded. Winter was always the worst season. Numerous families were cold and hungry, and many people were forced to appeal for and accept assistance for the first time in their lives. "The unemployment situation which is largely responsible for the growth of the work in our county has made our work doubly heavy," Mrs. Myers noted in an article which appeared in the *Democratic Advocate* on February 27, 1931. At the May quarterly board meeting, Mrs. Myers called for more volunteers because the work load had grown to almost more than one social worker could handle, and hiring an assistant at that time was financially impossible. In September the two major industries in Union Bridge—the cement plant and the Western Maryland Railroad car shop—were closed at least temporarily, and people feared the worst. At the society's annual meeting in February 1932, Mrs. Myers presented statistics which revealed the expansion of the Children's Aid Society's work in 1931: "In 1931, we had 150 new appeals for aid of one kind or another against 134 in 1930. Our one

19. *Democratic Advocate*, September 12 and December 5, 1930.
20. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1930.

worker made 798 visits this year against 565 in 1930, and while our receipts from every source shrank $777.00 last year the needed expenditures of the Society mounted $1,198.00 over the previous year."[21]

Assistance given by the society was generally emergency relief with most of the effort directed toward getting the family able to take care of itself again. Miss Custenborder's report to the May 1931 quarterly meeting describes some of the measures taken to help needy countians:

> One family, destitute all winter, was placed on a farm where they are now self-supporting. They are planting potatoes and other vegetables for the winter and also raising hogs for their meat. Odd jobs were given several men which enabled them to help make ends meet. . . . A number of children have been able to attend school when food, clothing, and shoes were supplied by the C.A.S. Hot lunches were provided in several cases.[22]

The conservative, self-help emphasis of the Children's Aid Society is further exemplified in Miss Custenborder's annual report for 1931:

> Many families have applied for relief, some as a last resort and others because they think the world owes them a living. . . . Often relatives are found who are able and willing to aid the family; sometimes part-time employment can be secured which will enable the family to meet the necessities of life. This helps to keep up the morale of the industrious man and to stimulate self-respect in the indifferent man. Employment was found during the year for fifteen different persons. [23]

Later that year the Children's Aid Society, expecting a heavy demand for its services during the winter of 1932, made arrangements to move from Miss Custenborder's living room in the Klee Apartments to more adequate quarters on the second floor of 84 East Main Street in Westminster, directly over the Keefer Sanitary Grocery Store. Although the quarters were still part of Miss Custenborder's personal apartment, there was now space to have an office for interviewing (where Miss Custenborder was always available on Wednesdays) and a clothes room where collected garments could be organized and ready when appeals came, as they constantly did.

21. *Ibid.*, February 12, 1932. Partially counteracting the financial situation was the encouraging statement by an officer of the Maryland Children's Aid Society that the Carroll County branch "is well organized and has more volunteers than the other counties" (Minutes, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, December 7, 1931, MCAFSS files).

22. *Democratic Advocate*, May 15, 1931.

23. *Ibid.*, February 5, 1932.

During 1932 the Children's Aid Society was largely responsible for all the relief that was available to needy countians. Miss Custenborder reported early in 1932 that "increasingly Carroll County people are clearing all cases of need through the Children's Aid Society in order to avoid duplication of effort and cost of relief furnished." She encouraged local people to contact the society about any family or individual in need of any phase of social service.[24]

To enhance its position and ability to help, the society conducted an intensive educational campaign beginning in February 1932. The campaign was carried out by newspaper stories, public talks, printed leaflets, private calls on individuals, sermons in many churches of the county, and an essay contest for school children on "Why Should Carroll County Stand Behind the Work of the Children's Aid Society."[25]

Many agencies in the county contributed to the work of the Children's Aid Society, especially the Red Cross. Half of the funds collected in its financial drives remained in the county for local relief. Large portions of these funds at some point came into the hands of the Children's Aid Society. During the first five months of 1932, for example, the Red Cross paid practically all the society's food and fuel bills and for part of the clothing; during the summer it provided seeds and potatoes for gardens; and for part of the year the Red Cross received flour, which it then turned over to the society for distribution.[26]

Many other agencies, businesses, and individuals helped. In fact, the success of the Children's Aid Society was largely due to its ability to get so many people involved in making contributions that directly helped the county's needy citizens. The city of Westminster collected wood to be cut by unemployed men in exchange for a grocery order; the firewood then was given to families in need of fuel. Joseph Shreeves gave eight loaves of bread a week. Mackenzie's Drug Store donated $15 worth of supplies as needed. A local farmer gave 300 pounds of beans. The State Theatre held a benefit matinee and charged canned fruits and vegetables for admission. The Rotary Club paid $38 to purchase braces for a nine-year-old girl. W. H. Davis gave a five-room apartment on the third floor of the building occupied by Woolworth's (at the corner of Main and John streets), heated and equipped with chairs, tables, and five sewing machines, for the use of the Children's Aid Society sewing committee. The Westminster branch of the Needle Work Guild of America donated new garments. The Willing Workers class of the Brethren Church provided canned food, clothing, dishes, and kitchen utensils.[27]

Support for the Children's Aid Society was impressive, but the need in the

24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, February 12, 19, and 26, and March 4, 18, and 25, 1932.
26. *Ibid.*, May 13 and September 16, 1932.
27. *Ibid.*, September 16, October 14 and 21, and December 9 and 23, 1932.

county in 1932 was simply too great. The organization, cutting corners at every turn, could hardly make ends meet. New material was made into clothing, used garments were remodeled, and the scraps were used to make much needed "comforts." Garments were even made from the muslin used in the bicentennial parade in Taneytown and then donated to the sewing committees of the Children's Aid Society. Effective in November, Miss Custenborder voluntarily reduced her salary 10 percent.[28]

Despite the nearly exhausted treasury that December, the society, as it always did, felt compelled to help the cold and hungry; but, as usual, it also insisted that the recipient of relief had to be willing to help himself to the extent he was able. The society cut from relief roles, moved to Baltimore, and even kept out of the county when possible people it considered "shiftless," dependent, and unwilling to work. Finding employment and encouraging her clients to earn any money they could regardless of the wage were important aspects of Miss Custenborder's social work.[29]

Locating jobs, however, was not easy. The Westminster shoe factory and the Mt. Airy pants factory were closed for several months during the year, and two canneries did not operate. During the spring and summer of 1932, therefore, the society stressed planting a garden and canning fruits and vegetables for winter use. Appeals were made for vacant lots, seeds, plants, jars, and sugar for jelly and butters.[30]

To the extent that the December 1932 report of C. Scott Bollinger, president of the Carroll County Board of Commissioners, was correct and not the result of blindness to the real plight of the poor, the efforts of the Children's Aid Society were effective. He claimed that the county "is in good shape. There are a good many unemployed . . . , and between $6000 and $7000 has been appropriated from county funds during the year, but there is no one suffering in the county," Furthermore, he saw no need for state relief aid because "the county can take care of it right well"—a statement with which many in the Children's Aid Society surely would have disagreed. Bollinger also cited the Children's Aid Society as an agency distributing county relief funds.[31]

28. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1932.

29. Minutes, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, May 9, 1932, MCAFSS files. Sometimes Miss Custenborder or Mrs. Myers was successful in locating low-paying jobs at a local nursery or cannery. According to Mrs. Henry Ackley, Miss Custenborder's secretary, there was a feeling in the society that these businesses could have paid more than the 15 cents per hour offered to these men who had families to support (Interview with Mrs. Henry Ackley, May 1976).

30. *Democratic Advocate*, May 13 and 27, and September 16, 1932.

31. *Ibid.*, December 23, 1932. An example of the tendency of governments to downplay the severity of the depression was a report to Maryland Governor Albert C. Ritchie in March 1932 describing changes in the unemployment situation since the previous December. Dr. Thomas B. Symons, the author of the report, stated that in Carroll County there had been "little change except for closing of shoe factory employing 400" (*Baltimore Sun*, March 19, 1932).

By 1933 the Carroll County branch of the Children's Aid Society was "known [to social workers] all over the country as the only organized social welfare agency" in the area. Miss Custenborder noted that "requests for service reach us from not only our own state but from Maine to Florida and from California to the East Coast."[32] For any Carroll Countians who did not know, reports given during the year and appeals in the April financial campaign emphasized the society's role in the county.

The continuing depression—at least as severe in 1933 as in 1932—brought the society, stretched virtually to the limit, even more work. "We have passed through an unusually busy summer due to lack of employment in the county," Miss Custenborder observed in September. "While we have the usual number of chronic cases . . . , we also have appeals from worthy and industrious men and women who would gladly work and support their families. Over 100 persons have made inquiry at this office for work."[33]

The work of the Children's Department alone—the society's original responsibility—became more difficult because "free and wage homes were almost impossible to find," due largely, the society believed, "to the depressed times."[34] More children than ever before had to be boarded, and the meager funds available for boarding costs meant that some needy children were not cared for. Miss Custenborder reported in December 1933 on one child who that year had been committed to the Maryland Training School. "This boy should have been removed from his home two years ago and given a chance, but funds were not available to care for him in a boarding home."[35]

Miss Custenborder's report at the end of the year was grim indeed:

> We have had an unusual number of appeals for assistance and unless work is provided soon we shall be facing the hardest winter in our history. Farm work and road work have given employment to a large number of men but the work on the farms is practically over and many of the men have been laid off the road work. Even though the men have three days a week on the roads they have a struggle to make ends meet for there are times when the weather is bad and they lose a day or more and are forced to ask for aid to provide the necessities for their families. And often the farmers are not able to pay their help for work done until the crop is sold. The price of flour and other staple groceries have risen and it has been impossible to provide anything for the

32. *Annual Report*, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, February 13, 1933, MCAFSS files.
33. Third Quarterly Board Meeting 1933, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, MCAFSS files.
34. *Democratic Advocate*, February 17, 1933.
35. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1933.

> winter other than the fruit and vegetables which they canned. The Woolen Mills, Congoleum Plant, and Cement Plant have been running, otherwise there would be more families in need. . . .[36]

By the time of her fifth annual report in February 1934, however, Miss Custenborder presented a much brighter picture. Families had found employment. The Children's Aid Society had been designated to select the young men for the Reforestation Camps operated by the Civilian Conservaton Corps (CCC), opened in the spring of 1933. Thirty-two Carroll Countians were enrolled. They received room and board plus $5 for spending money per month and their families received an additional $25 per month, which had removed many of these families from the county's relief rolls. Civil Works Administration (CWA) and Public Works Administration (PWA) projects were also helpful, and Miss Custenborder proudly noted that, "while there have been some chiselers and shirkers, it has been encouraging to note the attitude of the men who have been employed for months, and we wish it might be possible to find a job for every man and woman in need of work."[37]

As long as the federal jobs continued, the relief picture was much improved. At the quarterly board meeting in September 1934, Miss Custenborder reported that "a number of projects are in the course of construction at this time and with the seasonal labor in canneries and on the farms practically all those able to work can find some employment."[38] The agency began to concentrate increasingly on its original goal of caring for neglected children.

While relief work and garden and canning projects continued, perhaps the most important emphasis during 1934 was on finding clothing. At the beginning of the school year Miss Custenborder reported that "many parents are able to provide food and pay rent, but are not able to equip the children for school."[39] In November the society announced that it was in "drastic and immediate need" of men's and boys' clothing, and strongly objected to "the practice of giving clothing and other articles to outside charity organizations."[40] The society took pride in providing children in its care with clothing that was "inconspicuous because it was like that worn by other children." It believed that "children who have suffered because of the inadequacy of their parents and their own homes are particularly responsive to the encouragement of [such] clothing."[41]

By 1935 the Children's Aid Society, no longer so totally burdened by relief

36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1934.
38. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1934.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, November 23, 1934.
41. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1934. The society believed it was important for the children in its care not to appear obvious in any way.

work, began to mature. The hiring of Mrs. Esther K. Brown to do relief work in late 1934, reflecting the society's improved financial position, removed much of the pressure from the overburdened Miss Custenborder.[42] The members, well aware of the need for predictable sources of funds, organized a men's auxiliary which soon became a men's advisory council to help in the work of the society and particularly in financial campaigns. And for the first time pledges for contributions to be paid throughout the year were solicited.

In 1935 the society continued to do relief work—finding jobs, sponsoring gardens, helping with canning—but as Miss Custenborder said in her report in May 1935, "We feel that the peak of the relief situation has been reached and that the chief need now is to build up the morale of the unemployed by planning work projects to take the place of direct relief."[43]

With the establishment of a statewide public welfare system in the spring of 1935, the Maryland Children's Aid Society and its branches moved to restrict their work to the children's program in order to do more things for the children and do them better. A story in the *Democratic Advocate* on March 29, 1935, gave an example of what the society could do.

> Some months ago [a] nine-year-old child was a familiar figure on the streets of downtown Westminster where she begged candy and nickels for the movies. She rarely went home until the excitement of Main Street had subsided late at night. She was always grimy but she had manners that won the adult heart. [After the Children's Aid Society took charge of her and put her in a boarding home elsewhere in the county, she became an imaginative, adventurous, happy child.] Her greatest difficulty was in learning to eat a regular meal, she had lived on candy for so long.[44]

Although the financial appeal in the spring of 1935 still called for aid to "distressed families" as well as for work with "neglected and dependent children," none of the funds raised were to be used for unemployment relief.[45] Appropriations for that purpose were now made by the county commissioners. The final step to remove relief work from the duties of the Children's Aid Society began in May 1935 with the establishment of the publicly-funded Carroll County Welfare Board. Mrs. Esther Brown continued her relief work under the auspices of the Welfare

42. The society's income grew from $7835.67 in 1933 to $12,471.64 in 1934. The increase is explained by the growth of the county commissioners' contribution from $2800.00 in 1933 to $7059.90 in 1934 (Financial Statement, February 1, 1934 and February 1, 1935, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, MCAFSS files).

43. *Democratic Advocate*, May 17, 1935.

44. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1935.

45. *Ibid.*

Board with the goals of helping people to help themselves; giving instructions in canning, sewing, etc.; and encouraging district projects for the purpose of providing employment and bettering health and social conditions.[46]

By September 1935, after the Welfare Board had moved into its own quarters, the permanent division of the two organizations was complete. The functions of the two organizations were described in an article in the *Democratic Advocate* as follows:

> The Welfare Board, which is a public agent, will handle the old-age pensions and all relief cases whether due to unemployment or disability. The CAS, which is a private organization, will continue to care for the dependent children. This plan has been decided upon by the Board of State Aid and Charities, following the passing of the bill at the last session of Legislature, defining the duties of County Welfare Boards.[47]

The two agencies continued to cooperate, but from then on Miss Custenborder, Mrs. Myers, and the other members of the Children's Aid Society board could turn their full attention to making a better life for Carroll County's neglected children.

What was the significance of the society's work in the early 1930s? The Carroll County branch of the Children's Aid Society was founded to help needy children. Emphasizing the needs of children as a means of establishing professional social work in a rural, religious county later made it possible to help needy adults as well, for, as W. A. Owings has noted recently, "the welfare of the young always strikes a peculiarly sympathetic note, for it is a part of the Christian ethic that the dependent child and its mother are entitled to support."[48] In addition to the relief work which the organization itself assumed, it served even more importantly to stimulate individuals, church and civic groups, businesses, and the county government to contribute, through the society's channels, to the county's needy citizens.

The work of the Children's Aid Society—even the relief provided during the difficult early years of the depression—was completely acceptable to the generally conservative Carroll Countians. Assistance given was of an emergency or self-help nature. The charity was voluntary and appealed to the countians' patriotism. One of the *Democratic Advocate* articles encouraging support for the Children's Aid Society called on local citizens to give the children "the opportunity to grow up with a healthy body and a trained mind, a disciplined character, and a devotion to the American Government."[49]

46. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1935.
47. *Ibid.*, September 13, 1935.
48. W. A. Owings, *Provision for the Many: Perspectives on American Poverty* (Hinsdale, Ill., 1973), p. 107.
49. *Democratic Advocate*, April 21, 1933.

The society was a women's organization. Women headed it, ran it, appealed for funds, and did its work. It provided a welcome outlet for the energies and talents of middle-class women. To call the Great Depression a part of "the long amnesia," as Peter Gabriel Filene has done in his recent book on sex roles in modern America, underestimates the contribution made by the hundreds of Carroll County women who worked for the Children's Aid Society.[50] In fact, at a time when male-dominated economic and political institutions were paralyzed, these women took on a vital role in holding together a stricken social order, using gifts of food, clothing, fuel, and free services to supplement scarce funds. And when additional financial support for relief and children's work was required, it was the women who stirred up prominent men to form first the Carroll County Emergency Relief Organization and later the Men's Advisory Council.

Beyond the question of women's role in combating the depression is the overarching issue of the effectiveness of voluntary organizations and local governments in responding to this unprecedented crisis. Although more research is needed, especially on the rural areas in which approximately 44 percent of the nation's population in 1930 still lived, the following working hypothesis seems appropriate: that, in general, local self-help efforts failed first in large cities such as Philadelphia, then in smaller cities such as Ann Arbor,[51] and finally in rural areas such as Carroll County where, barring such natural disasters as the 1930 drought, the unemployed at least could be provided with the seed and land necessary to grow much of their own food. Such a hypothesis clearly is valid for central Maryland; the city of Baltimore (pop. 804,874) was in serious need of state and federal relief funds by March 1932, and neighboring Baltimore County (pop. 124,565) by June 1932 was also, whereas Carroll County managed relatively well until the depression hit bottom in the winter of 1933.[52]

But despite the advantages Carroll County enjoyed relative to more urban areas and despite all the support given the Children's Aid Society, its funds and means of procuring employment were never sufficient. Only when the state and federal governments stepped in between 1933 and 1935 with relief funds, jobs, and the opening of the Carroll County Welfare Board, supported by government funds, was there substantial improvement in the relief picture in the county. Charity, Carroll Countians learned during the Great Depression, no longer could be left entirely to voluntary organizations.

50. Peter Gabriel Filene, *Him/Her/Self; Sex Roles in Modern America* (New York, 1974), chapter 6.

51. David M. Katzman, "Ann Arbor: Depression City," *Michigan History*, 54 (December 1966): 306–17.

52. For conditions in the city of Baltimore, see *Baltimore Sun*, March 19, 1932; *Baltimore Post*, March 19, 1932; and Dorothy M. Brown, "Maryland Between the Wars," in Richard Walsh and

Comment

Our article focuses on the dedicated women—all volunteers—who led and did the work of the Children's Aid Society in Carroll County in the early twentieth century. This admirable organization was generally successful in providing "welfare" services to the needy in the county during the generally prosperous era before the Great Depression that began in 1929. But they were unable to raise sufficient funds to meet the greatly increased need for services during the depression decade of the 1930s.

The experience of the Children's Aid Society at that time is highly relevant today. What the United Way, religious institutions, and other volunteer organizations are able to do to alleviate poverty, mental illness, and other social problems is very important. As was true in the 1930s, however, the efforts of these voluntary organizations are not sufficient: governmental agencies and resources also play an indispensable role in helping the least fortunate members of society.

Patricia and Ralph Levering
Davidson, North Carolina

William Lloyd Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History, 1632–1974* (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 730–34. For Baltimore County see *The Jeffersonian* (Towson, Md.), March 12 and July 1, 1932. The Children's Aid Society, Baltimore County's major welfare organization, had to close its Dundalk office, ending aid to 250 needy families, at the end of June 1932 due to lack of funds.

Maryland's First Warship*

HAMILTON OWENS

Baltimore, although so far from the sea, has had from the very beginning a special concern with and for the Navy. Perhaps it is because we are so many miles from the coast that we cling all the more closely to our salt-water life line and emphasize more strongly than most cities that the sea is our heritage.

In any event, that is our practice. The list of our naval heroes and of the achievement in battle of our ships and men is a long one. Joshua Barney is our most picturesque naval figure. Stephen Decatur, Jr., is ours only by the accident of birth, but one of the ships he commanded was Baltimore built. That was, of course, the lucky little *Enterprise*. The old *Constellation*, in exile at Newport, is our most famous ship. The 30-hour bombardment of Fort McHenry is the best known of our battles, though, of course, we were land-fighting against a sea-borne force in that particular affair.

It occurred to me that, in all our history, there is no better proof of Baltimore's understanding of the need for a Navy and the true function of a naval force—which is to keep open the sea lanes—than is to be found in the tale of the Maryland ship of war *Defence* whose short but useful career began before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The story is a familiar one to many in this audience but it is such a good yarn and has so many overtones, some of them not without humor, that I am going to risk outlining it once again.

When the Commonwealth of Maryland determined to join in the general resistance to British tyranny, one of its first decisions was to contribute two vessels to the national cause under congressional authorization. They were the sloop *Hornet*, Bermuda built, and the schooner *Wasp*, characteristic product of a Chesapeake yard. Barney, incidentally, got his first naval commission at this time. He was second lieutenant on the *Hornet*.

* Address before the Society on "Navy Night," May 10, 1943. The facts cited with reference to the ship *Defence*, commissioned in 1776, have been largely drawn from the MS volume, "Revolutionary Records: The Ship Defence, Dimensions, Equipment and Company. Compiled from Papers in the Land Office of Maryland by Philip D. Laird, 1896." This book is in possession of the Maryland Historical Society. Mr. Owens' remarks have appeared in the Appendix to the *Congressional Record* for May 24, 1943, along with the speeches of Under Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal and Rear Admiral W. H. P. Blandy on the same occasion.

This article first appeared in volume 38 (1943). Hamilton Owens (1888–1967) was an author, journalist, and editor of the Baltimore Evening Sun.

Both of these vessels went speedily to sea to join the new Continental Fleet under Capt. Esek Hopkins. Baltimore itself was left with no ships of war to patrol the Chesapeake Bay and guard the approaches to the port. This meant, of course, that if the British decided to blockade and cut off the flour and tobacco trade they could do so at no cost to themselves. It also meant that if they decided to attack, they could land forces with impunity and march in the city's back door despite the several defenses set up to guard the harbor.

The town's leading citizens, wiser in matters of naval strategy than one would have thought, saw the situation as soon as the British did and hastily procured from the general assembly at Annapolis the right to commission their own ship of war to sail under the flag of Maryland. By the easy, informal methods of the time it was natural that two of the town's merchants should be appointed agents in the enterprise and given authority to use the State's funds—in bills of course—in payment therefor.

I will not bore you with all the details of the processes by which this first vessel in the Maryland navy was acquired. Because of the danger of the blockade, a number of ships were tied up in the harbor. Among them was a stout vessel, rather larger than the characteristic schooners of the time, which belonged to a merchant named John Smith. She was a full-rigged ship. She was about 85 feet long over-all, and her beam was about 25 feet. She was deep in the stern, like most Chesapeake vessels, and when fully loaded she drew 12½ feet. This means that compared to most of the Baltimore boats she was commodious and able. Mr. Smith, although a patriot, was not averse to setting a good figure on her. The merchants, acting for the State, of course, agreed to pay him 1,450 pounds sterling as she stood.

The next thing was to find a commander. In those days, as in these, the Eastern Shore produced a special breed of sailors. Among the well-to-do families over there was one with the surname Nicholson, with many sons. The second of these was James Nicholson. He was a bright and engaging youth and his family had sent him to England for an education. While there he decided to make the sea his profession and, as a junior officer in the British navy, he was present at the siege of Havana in 1762. This gave him a reputation throughout the colony as a man experienced in naval affairs. He was something of a politician too, and it was not surprising that he was chosen to command the new warship. He gave her the name *Defence* and set himself immediately to the task of fitting her out in accordance with the prestige of a soon-to-be sovereign State. He was given a stipend of 500 pounds sterling that he might live according to his station while the work was in progress.

When the ship was bought she had a complete set of sails, but Messrs. Lux and Bowley, who were her agents, and who probably chose Mr. Nicholson as commander, thought it well to see that she had a whole new outfit. Mr. Lux was a merchant and a ropemaker, one of the most important in the community. Lux is Latin for light and Light Street is named after him. Mr. Bowley was his father-in-

law, also a merchant. He had built one of the town's chief wharfs, which is still called after him.

The order for the canvas for the new sails was given to the firm of S. & R. Purviance, a name which has long been noteworthy in the history of Baltimore. They provided 2,379 yards of sail cloth, for which the State paid something over 285 pounds sterling. New sails implied new rigging. Most of this was made in Mr. Lux's rope-walk on the edge of town. There were more than 11 tons of it and it cost 740 pounds sterling. The anchor and part of the cable were supplied by Mr. H. Young, for £105. Pig iron weighing 42½ tons was needed for ballast. It cost £371. One of the men interested in the smelting of pig iron at that time was Charles Carroll of Carrollton. It is probable that his company supplied at least part of this necessary ballast.

Above everything else, there was the question of guns and munitions. Captain Nicholson worked hard on this. On this little vessel he found space to mount 18 six-pounders on the main deck and 4 more of them on the quarter deck. Britchens and tackle as well as carriages had to be fashioned. The local foundries cast 1,600 round shot and 100 grape, each containing 10 9-ounce balls, the equivalent, perhaps, of modern shrapnel. There were 72 double-headed shot, useful to cut the rigging of an opponent.

One could go on with this sort of compilation. There was powder by the ton, hand grenades, boarding pikes, cutlasses, muskets, handspikes, and all the paraphernalia for the close fighting which was the practice in naval warfare at the time. There were navigation instruments, hourglasses, lead lines, speaking trumpets. There were ships' boats and captain's barges, all handsomely equipped. There were supplies of food—beef, cheese, potatoes, bread, and flour. Bedding for the crew cost £672.

One can imagine the boom along the waterfront as the merchants rushed in to bid for the right to supply the ship. One can imagine the carts hauling the supplies to the dockside, the craftsmen swarming over the ship trying to work amidst the confusion, the carpenters, joiners, and riggers applying for jobs and getting them perhaps at higher wages than they had ever received before. Nearly £2,000 was paid out for days' work actually done on the ship. One can imagine the haughty, handsome figure of Captain Nicholson standing on the quarter-deck watching the orderly confusion of the scene below him and imagining himself, probably, as the presiding genius not only in the fitting of the ship, but in the heroic battles she was soon to fight if all went well.

Today we talk a lot about the present war boom and what it has done for and to Baltimore. But I imagine that the excitements, the dislocations, the alarums and excursions along the Baltimore water-front today are not one bit more tremendous, taking scale into consideration, than were the excitements and dislocations which attended the purchase and outfitting of the first Baltimore warship, *Defence*.

You will have noticed that nearly every merchant in the town participated in the business of supplying her and that they got good prices for what they had to sell. You may be tempted to call them profiteers. But before using that word, one ought to remember that this was a time of rapidly rising prices; the merchants, cut off by the non-importation agreements from England, which was the usual source of almost all manufactured goods, had to improvise a defense industry. There was no Reconstruction Finance Corporation to finance them. They had to use their own capital. They foresaw a long war and perhaps declining trade. They didn't yet know how well they would be able to do in the business of privateering. They weren't even sure that the State would reimburse them for their outlays. What they knew was that they needed a navy and needed it quickly. They were determined to supply it regardless of cost. They got good prices on paper for what they supplied the *Defence.* Some of them made fortunes during the war—though they didn't know it until long afterwards. Some of them went bankrupt. But they outfitted the ship. The total cost, including the hull, was 11,272 pounds, 18 shillings and 6 pence, or something more than $10 apiece for every man, woman and child in the community.

The *Defence* did not see much in the way of action. Few naval vessels do. They watch, they patrol. They are kept in a state of eternal preparedness. Sometimes they are called upon to act before they are ready. That is what happened to the *Defence.* She was lying at her pier, her decks still cluttered with her multifarious gear, when word came to Baltimore that a new British war vessel was proceeding up the bay to attack the city. This turned out to be H. M. S. *Otter,* a sloop-of-war of considerable power. The commander of the *Otter,* Captain Squire, had heard of the *Defence* and his job was to put her out of business. He had heard, also, that several schooners, loaded with flour, were about to sail from Baltimore and, since the British fleet needed flour, he thought he would at one and the same time capture the *Defence* and supply the fleet with the needed bread. He announced to a messenger sent aboard that he was willing to pay for the flour but that he was determined to capture the *Defence,* which he called a privateer. This message he gave out overnight, while he was anchored just north of what we now call Gibson Island.

Next morning, Captain Squire sent a tender, which had accompanied him, into the Patapsco River to take a schooner anchored there, loaded with flour and ready to depart for the West Indies. But the news had by this time reached Baltimore. Captain Nicholson, with an alacrity which he did not always display, got his crew aboard, made sail and proceeded down the river. The men on the tender saw him coming, abandoned their prize, and ran toward the protection of the *Otter.* The captain of the latter weighed anchor and prepared for battle. But at this point he fell into difficulty for, not knowing the channel, he struck on a shoal—either Bodkin Point or Seven Foot Knoll—and heeled over considerably, according to the account of a man who happened to be aboard. If the *Defence* had

attacked him immediately, he would probably have been destroyed. But each vessel was a little fearful of the strength of the other. They did not come to an actual meeting and finally, as night fell, Nicholson put the *Defence* about and returned to Baltimore. The *Otter* likewise decided it was better not to come to grips and came about on the rising tide and stood down the bay.

This may seem to us to have been an inconclusive affair but actually, it shows a navy doing precisely what it is supposed to do. During this meeting, in which not a shot was fired, several things happened. The first one, of course, was the recapture of the flour-laden schooner which the British tender had taken. The second was the display of strength by the *Defence*. This display served to convince the commander of the *Otter* that he had better keep his distance from Baltimore. But keeping a distance from Baltimore meant that the near approaches to the city were free, for quite a long time, from hostile forces, and that the flour-laden ships could come and go. When the Marylanders were able to add to the *Defence* and provide not one vessel merely, but a whole fleet, it meant that they could keep the bay almost completely free of British vessels.

During all save one or two of the long years of the Revolution, Baltimore maintained her trade with remarkably little interference. She had learned the value of a naval force. Later on, most of the burden was taken over, in form at least, by the new Federal Government. Baltimore, then as now, was one of the chief shipbuilding centers of the country. And I like to think that, just as the merchants of Revolutionary days knew instinctively the value of a navy, so we, their descendants, know and appreciate the Navy in precisely the same way. They couldn't survive without it and we couldn't either.

Comment

The world was at war when Hamilton Owens delivered his brief address to the Maryland Historical Society on May 10, 1943. For America, World War II had begun as a naval war. The attack on the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor had occurred seventeen months earlier; and Maryland's industries were a part of the resulting race to produce the weapons and logistics required for a conflict of global scale. Owens, speaking at the society's Navy Night, used an episode from the days of the American Revolution to illustrate the purpose of naval power. He told the story of the square-rigged ship *Defence*, a merchantman converted and operated by the Baltimore community to protect the port and its commerce from British cruisers and loyalist privateers lurking in the Chesapeake Bay.

The warship's first and most important action occurred four months before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Hastily armed, the ship sailed out to meet the British sloop-of-war *Otter* and two smaller escorts that had appeared suddenly near Baltimore, sent to destroy the *Defence* and seize merchant ships—and attack and destroy the town if it resisted. The sight of the *Defence* challenging the *Otter* to battle was enough to convince the British captain to break off the engagement. He sailed back down the bay and reported to his superiors that Baltimore was heavily defended by navigational hazards and batteries of large cannon. It was a startling show of strength. Immediately reported in American newspapers, it quickly became a terrifying omen that lasted throughout the Revolutionary War. Although frequent dire warnings of attack raced up the Chesapeake, British commanders avoided the "nest of pirates" on the Patapsco, convinced they "had better," in Hamilton Owens' words, "keep [their] distance from Baltimore."

Using the encounter to illustrate "the true function of a naval force—which is to keep open the sea lanes," Owens also offered his audience, and readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, an example of a concept that would come to dominate American strategic thinking after World War II: the concept of deterrence.

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Axis Prisoners of War in the Free State, 1943–1946

RICHARD E. HOLL

During World War II the United States established the largest prisoner of war (POW) program in its history. By May of 1945, the War Department held 425,871 Axis prisoners at approximately 650 camps scattered across the country. Of these men, about 372,000 were Germans, 50,000 Italians, and 4,000 Japanese. Every state, including Maryland, participated in the POW venture and contained at least one prisoner of war installation.[1]

The POW program in the Free State, as in the nation, progressed through three overlapping phases. The first stressed security, the prevention of POW escape; the second highlighted the benefits derived from the work performed by Axis prisoner laborers; and the third emphasized political indoctrination of the captives. From 7 December 1941 through at least the latter part of 1943, the provost marshal general's office—the War Department agency in charge of the national POW program—thought largely in terms of securely housing the few prisoners under its authority. It acted cautiously; one guard typically supervised only two or three prisoners, authorities fearing that escapees would commit sabotage and endanger the general public. During this security stage the War Department established only one prisoner of war installation in Maryland—Fort George G. Meade (located at the juncture of Anne Arundel, Howard, and Prince George's counties), which obtained permission "to contain prisoners" on 15 September 1942.

With a capacity for 1,680 persons, Meade was the largest camp in the Free State[2] and at times housed more than 2,000. It first held enemy aliens—Axis civilians trapped in the U.S. when war erupted—who arrived in late 1942. Meade received its first shipment of captured soldiers, Italians, in September 1943, following the Allied landings in North Africa. By January 1944 it contained 1,632 Italian enlisted men, 55 German privates, and 3 German officers. Fort Meade's status changed on 26 May 1944, when it was activated as a camp for Germans.[3] From June of that year through V-E day, in the aftermath of the D-Day invasion, the fort operated near or above its capacity.

Though 1943 saw no new POW camps erected in Maryland, pressure built on

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the War Department to modify its conservative, security-oriented policy on war prisoners. Farmers, manufacturers, and businessmen, desperate for manpower, believed the POWs should be allowed out of Fort Meade to work. Maryland's employers did indeed suffer from severe labor shortages during World War II, farmers, canners, and pulpwood operators experiencing the worst problems. S. H. Devault, chairman of the University of Maryland agricultural economics department, estimated that the supply of farm labor on 1 July 1942 was only 56 percent of normal. In May 1944 Lawrence B. Fenneman, state director of the War Manpower Commission (WMC), stated that a WMC survey showed that 30,000 workers would be required to process the state's food. Since only 17,000 former cannery workers were available, Fenneman projected a shortage of 13,000 employees. The lumber industry also found itself hard-pressed to find enough help.[4]

Thomas B. Symons, director of cooperative extension work and dean of agriculture and home economics at the University of Maryland, listened to farmers' complaints and contacted Senator Millard E. Tydings about the possibility of obtaining POW laborers. Symons recommended that some of these camps be built on the Eastern Shore, near Salisbury, a locale particularly hard hit by labor shortages, and also thought Southern Maryland would profit from POW camps. On 22 June 1943 Tydings wrote Hugh A. Drum, commanding general of the Eastern Defense Area and First Army, requesting more POW camps in Maryland and noting that without them crops might rot in the field. General Drum directed Tydings to the War Department, which in July stated that no more POW camps could be built in Maryland because the state lay within the Vital Air Defense Zone of the Eastern Defense Command. Robert P. Patterson, acting secretary of war, authorized "the employment in agriculture, to the extent practicable, of any of the remaining prisoners who may be interned at Fort Meade over and above these designated for the Quartermaster laundry work."[5] Yet Patterson's reply reflected the fact that security considerations still dominated. Those in command remained unwilling to permit large numbers of POWs outside barbed wire. Meantime the civilian labor shortage intensified, particularly in farming and canning, and the War Department faced mounting pressure from labor-starved employers.

Five months after Patterson's negative reply, Maryland authorities received word that the War Department had reversed itself; several new German POW camps would be established in the state. Though officials in Annapolis were startled by the order and concerned about a "Nazi invasion," employers reacted enthusiastically. The War Department resolved the security-productivity debate once and for all in February 1944, when a military-civilian conference meeting in Dallas, Texas, resolved to balance security with productivity, placing less emphasis on containing POWs and more on working them. The army gambled that full utilization of POW labor would more than compensate for the possible chaos that a few more escaped prisoners might cause. It discarded the old regulations that pre-

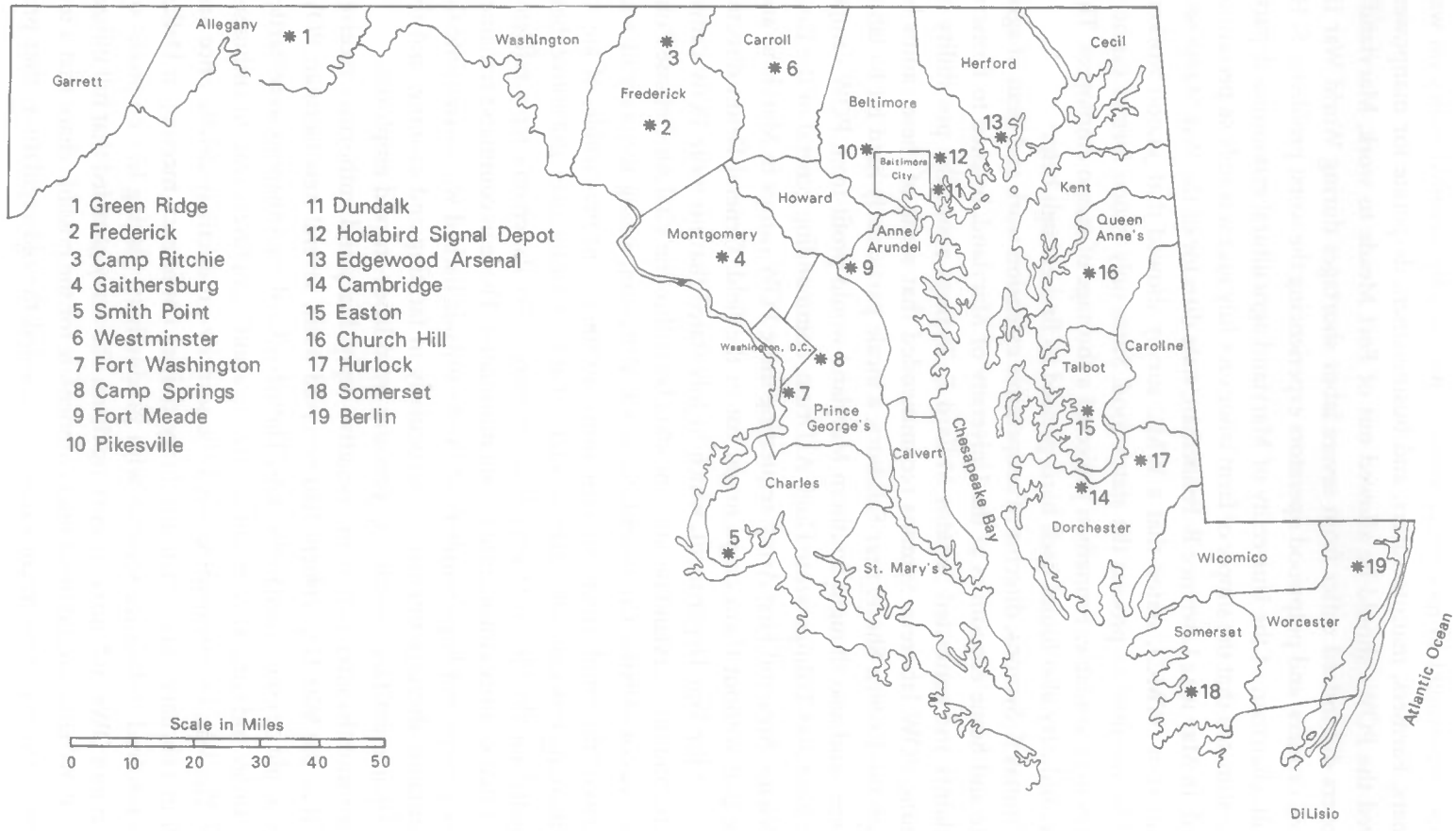

FIGURE 1. Prisoner of War Camps in Maryland, 1943–1945. (Graphic: James E. DiLisio)

vented the construction of POW installations within the Eastern Defense Command, relaxed security precautions (allowing one guard to supervise many more prisoners than before), and concentrated on the exploitation of POW labor.[6] Prisoner work details left their barbed wire enclosures and traveled to Maryland farms and factories.

The change in War Department policy toward productivity, formalized at the Dallas Conference, led to the construction of eighteen additional POW installations in Maryland. The new camps included: Berlin, Worcester County; Cambridge, Dorchester County; Camp Ritchie, Frederick County; Camp Somerset, near Westover, Somerset County; Camp Springs, Prince George's County; Church Hill, Queen Anne's County; Dundalk, Baltimore County; Easton, Talbot County; Edgewood Arsenal, Hartford County; Fort Washington, Prince George's County; Frederick, Frederick County; Gaithersburg, Montgomery County; Green Ridge, near Flintstone, Allegany County; Holabird Signal Depot, Baltimore City; Hurlock, Dorchester County; Pikesville, Baltimore County; Smith Point, near Grayton, Charles County; and Westminster, Carroll County.[7]

These camps held between 200 and 1,000 POWs, compared to 2,000 or more at Fort Meade. They existed to meet the manpower demands in their locale and extracted as much work as possible from the prisoners, subject only to the limitations of the Geneva Convention. Signed by the U.S., Germany, and Italy in 1929, it stipulated that captured enemy officers could not be compelled to work and that non-commissioned officers could only supervise. Under the Geneva code, however, prison officials could force enlisted men to work at any job except one demeaning, degrading, or directly related to the war effort. In August 1945 Maryland served as temporary home to 10,942 Axis prisoners. This number included over 9,300 Germans, no more than 1,500 Italians, and less than 100 Japanese. Virginia, by comparison, held approximately 17,000 prisoners in twenty-seven installations.[8]

Most of the Germans housed in Maryland were Wehrmacht personnel, though smaller numbers came from the Luftwaffe and the navy. Camp Somerset, located one mile east of Westover and six miles south of Princess Anne, proved fairly typical. In April 1945, 781 prisoners, including 560 from the Wehrmacht, 198 from the Luftwaffe, and 3 from the navy were kept there—along with a few civilians and "protected personnel" (though only one received certification as such). The vast majority of these prisoners were enlisted men, a few non-commissioned officers. Maryland prisoners, like those nationwide, received numbers identifying them. The War Department used "81" to denote POWs captured in North Africa, "31" for the European Theater; "G," obviously enough, indicated German. At the Easton camp, prisoner identification numbers usually began with 31 G. Hans Richter, for example—a German captured in Europe and encamped at Easton had the number 31 G-128898. German prisoners exhibited different attitudes depending on the date and place of their capture: Members of General Erwin Rommel's vaunted

Afrika Corps, rounded up earliest, proved the most "arrogant and cocksure" of the captives. Germans captured later, in the wake of the D-Day invasion, were more docile and therefore less troublesome.[9]

Italian POWs, given the status accorded Italy as a cobelligerent of the allies beginning in September 1943, fell into a different category. Subject to their disavowal of facism, Italian prisoners found themselves organized into Italian Service Units (ISUs). The ISUs, essentially labor squads, performed jobs that aided the war effort against Germany. Italian prisoners of war often received privileges not granted German captives. ISU members, for example, received an allowance of $3 per month—even after the War Department terminated it for other internees in 1945.[10] The department permitted Italian-American associations to entertain ISU members, though army guards still guarded them.

Japanese POWs numbered only about 100 men and quickly passed through the state on their way to permanent camps elsewhere.[11] They performed little or no work in the Free State. European POWs, on the other hand, provided a large amount of valuable labor. By August 1945, 4,000 Maryland POWs worked for the

TABLE 1.
Economic Activity in Maryland POW Camps, 1943–1946

Camp	County	Peak Number of Prisoners	Type of Work
Berlin	Worcester	539	Agricultural
Cambridge	Dorchester	400	Canning
Camp Ritchie	Frederick	176	Military
Camp Somerset	Somerset	1,034	Agricultural; canning; and pulpwood
Camp Springs	Prince George's	500	Military
Church Hill	Queen Anne's	390	Agricultural
Dundalk	Baltimore County	456	Agricultural; industrial
Easton	Talbot	538	Canning; agricultural
Edgewood Arsenal	Harford	760	Agricultural; military
Fort Meade	Anne Arundel	3,817	Agricultural; industrial and military
Fort Washington	Prince George's	201	Agricultural; pulpwood
Frederick	Frederick	374	Agricultural
Gaithersburg	Montgomery	210	Agricultural
Green Ridge	Allegany	165	Agricultural; pulpwood
Holabird Signal Depot	Baltimore City	965	Agricultural; industrial; and military
Hurlock	Dorchester	295	Agricultural
Pikesville	Baltimore County	500	Agricultural; industrial
Smith Point	Charles	277	Agricultural; pulpwood
Westminster	Carroll		Agricultural

army and navy, and 6,000 labored for civilian contractors. Military work indirectly related to the war effort always received highest priority. Prisoners of war labored in camp bakeries, canteens, hospitals, and laundries. They worked in induction and separation centers, freeing American soldiers to do more vital jobs. POWs also dug ditches, built roads, and graded lawns. The German POWs located at Camp Ritchie served as camp carpenters, shoemakers, firemen, medics, orderlies, and cooks. At the Holabird Signal Depot the army Signal Corps employed more internees.[12]

After the Dallas conference, Maryland farmers could apply for "excess" prisoners through the War Food Administration (WFA) of the Department of Agriculture. Manufacturers applied to the War Manpower Commission (WMC). In either case employers faced certain restrictions. POWs could work no more than ten hours a day and could be kept away from camp no more than twelve hours at a time. In some cases, contractors needed to provide transportation. The prisoners had an absolute right to a lunch break and in no way were to be abused or mistreated. The wage system worked well for everyone. Agricultural and industrial contractors paid the prevailing civilian wage rate for German help, the amount going directly into the U.S. Treasury. If a Maryland canning company paid about fifty cents per hour, a civilian worker could expect to make four or five dollars a day. The German prisoner-canner, however, received only eighty cents from the provost marshal general. Thus, from each Maryland POW the federal government stood to gain roughly three or four dollars a day, the money contributing toward a fund that defrayed the costs of feeding and housing the prisoners. Once all was said and done, the POW program—in Maryland as in America—largely paid for itself.[13]

The Germans also benefited from the arrangement. Though not paid as well as U.S. workers, eighty cents a day still approximated the pay a German private earned. Furthermore, German POWs did better than American troops held by the Third Reich. "No Axis nation," wrote the late Walter Rundell, "paid a uniform rate for work comparable to the American rate."

Prohibited from holding currency or coin (lest they attempt to bribe their guards), Maryland POWs received script redeemable at camp canteens, where the Germans purchased such popular items as gum, soda, and tobacco. The canteen menu varied from one camp to the next. At the Easton installation POWs could "buy soap, tooth powder, shoe polish, and shoe cloths, tobacco, and many other things," but found "no candy bars or any soft drinks, or anything like that." At the end of the war, if a prisoner still held script or had saved his "money," he returned home with a bankroll, courtesy of Uncle Sam.[14]

POWs at Maryland's nineteen POW camps performed a broad spectrum of jobs besides military work. Farmers employed them to harvest all major crops produced in the state, including corn, peas, string beans, tobacco, tomatoes, and wheat. "Maryland had more prisoners in agriculture than any state on the East-

ern Seaboard. The only state east of the Mississippi [River] using more prisoners in agriculture was Mississippi." At the Church Hill camp, located two to three miles outside town, between Church Hill and Centreville, German POWs threshed wheat. At the Easton installation, on the grounds of the Easton airport, they harvested peas and worked "on more than a hundred farms, such as Harmon Callahan's, Ralph Wolford's, and Ed Saulsbury's, haying, cutting barley, picking cucumbers, repairing barns, and doing other carpentry work." At Flintstone and Frederick, prisoners of war picked apples. The Frederick captives, sometimes paid at the rate of ten cents per bushel, averaged thirty bushels per day. One hundred Fort Meade POWs worked on farms in Anne Arundel County; 133 in Howard County; 96 in Montgomery County; and 69 in Prince George's County. At the Somerset camp, as of 17 May 1945, 113 German prisoners weeded, pruned, and thinned apple and peach orchards. Nineteen others engaged in general farm work (plowing, planting, cultivating, and making general farm repairs). After V-E day, prisoners at the Berlin installation operated "to speed up the supply of food to [U.S.] troops in the Pacific area. . . ."[15]

Marylanders acknowledged their debt to prisoners who worked in agriculture. G. F. Fowler, chairman of the Carroll County Canner's Association committee, which had two hundred German POWs help harvest peas, stated in June 1944 that "much of the country pea crop [was] saved from waste because of the work of the prisoners of war." Paul V. Nystrom, head of the Maryland Agricultural Extension Service, credited prisoner of war labor with the 35 percent increase in Maryland's tomato crop in 1945. Furthermore, German POWs received praise for saving virtually the entire crop of Eastern Shore tomatoes that year. Many experts allotted a share of the laurels for the 40 percent increase in Maryland's overall agricultural production during the war years to German help.[16]

Canners also made good use of prisoner-of-war labor. Three hundred out of 371 German POWs interned at Cambridge worked at the Phillips Canning Company, which packed "K" and "C" rations for the army. These POWs spent their time rust-proofing cans, loading cars, and wiring boxes. They did not actually pack the cans. Easton prisoners worked in the canneries of Harrison & Jarboe, Charles T. Wrightson & Son, and Phillips, both at the Cordova factory and at Cambridge. From time to time, internees from Fort Meade found employment at the Lord-Mott Cannery in Baltimore.[17]

Pulpwood operators, while less satisfied with POW labor then farmers or canners, also contracted for prisoners. At Green Ridge, in Allegany County, where the state department of forest and parks maintained a prisoner of war camp in cooperation with the army, POWs during 1944 and 1945 chopped 3,876 cords of pulpwood valued at $44,088. POW productivity, however, lagged behind that of a comparably inexperienced civilian. Jon Pearce, a pulpwood dealer from Monkton, Maryland, spoke for most logging and pulpwood contractors who used German

or Italian workers when he said that, "I tried prisoner of war labor and found it unsatisfactory. The men, while willing to work, were inexperienced and their production of wood was about one-half that of good local labor." Nevertheless, even at Fort Meade, where prisoners performed mainly military work, POW pulpwood details occasionally went to help in the woods. During January of 1944, before large numbers of Germans arrived, Italian internees at Fort Meade provided much of the labor for a U.S. Forestry Service tree-cutting project that produced pulpwood for the manufacture of paper.[18]

Though farmers, canners, and pulpwood operators used the prisoners most extensively, POWs also did less familiar work. At the port of Baltimore, they salvaged lumber and unloaded ships. At Edgewood Arsenal they found employment in the Chemical Warfare Center. Twenty Smith Point internees under the direction of the U.S. Public Health Service sought to eradicate water-chestnut growth on the Potomac River in order to destroy mosquitoes that bred in the vegetation. All told, during the six month period from June to December 1945, German and Italian POWs working in Maryland saved the U.S. government approximately five million dollars. Pressed into emergency service in the wake of the Dallas Conference, Maryland prisoners constituted a valuable labor resource at precisely the time it was most needed. Major General Philip Hayes, commanding officer of the Third Service Command, comprising Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, best summarized the contribution of the Axis captives when he stated that "the lack of civilian labor might have affected our operations significantly. As it is, the use of the prisoners has enabled us to get our work done and remain on schedule."[19]

The Geneva agreement required that prisoners of war receive the same food as the captor's soldiers. In Maryland the POW diet, which contained from 3,400 to 3,700 calories per day, proved more than satisfactory. At Easton breakfast—served cafeteria style—typically included rolled oats, milk, raised bread, and coffee. Lunch normally consisted of stew with vegetables, rye bread, fresh fruit and water. Supper menus varied, depending upon seasonable availability of produce; they included soup, beans and peas, choice of vegetable, salad, rye bread, and tea. German POWs occasionally received fish, salami, and sausage. Officials even allowed prisoners to trade food. At Fort Meade Germans swapped "pumpkin and corn for potatoes and bread, which they much preferred."[20] Italian POWs received meals tailored to their national diet. Pasta dishes proved to be favorites.

Camp commanders also allowed the Axis captives to participate in athletic, cultural, educational, and religious activities. After working, prisoners played sports, read books, played musical instruments, formed orchestras, and attended church services. Labor, of course, always came first. But a recreational period made up part of every POW's daily routine. At Somerset, for example, German captives made good use of a soccer field, where they also played fistball and enjoyed a high jump, broad jump, and horizontal bars. Camp Somerset also con-

tained a library that grew to more than 1,300 volumes and subscribed to the *New York Times, Life, Newsweek, Reader's Digest, Science Digest,* and *Time.* As of 17 April 1945, the school at this camp included a POW director, six teachers, and one-hundred-and-ten pupils. Classes concentrated on the elementary level, though nine prisoners took correspondence courses at American universities. Fort Meade, too, offered its prisoners an opportunity at higher education. Thirteen prisoners there enrolled in a differential calculus course from the University of Chicago extension service; six others opted for English composition, four for chemistry, and one for analytical geometry. Another POW student took a business English course from the University of Minnesota.[21]

At several Eastern Shore camps the captives formed orchestras and staged a variety of plays. At Cambridge the POWs organized a theater troupe, an orchestra of fourteen members, and a chorus of forty voices. Shows and concerts, performed regularly, drew many appreciative spectators including American service personnel. The Somerset orchestra contained "$3,500 worth of musical instruments." In civilian life its German music director played in a dance and light musical orchestra.[22]

At Easton, religion played an unusually large role in prisoner life. On 22 October 1944, for example, three hundred of the six hundred Protestant POWs interned here attended church services. This turnout was extraordinary, since in an average camp fewer than 20 percent of the prisoners went to church. At Fort Meade, for instance, only 10 percent of the POWs bothered to attend services. Andre Vulliet of the international YMCA speculated that those POWs may have been "exceptionally irreligious." Captain R. Hegelmann, an army chaplain who spoke German, ministered to the more devoted Easton prisoner- parishioners.[23]

The vast majority of Axis prisoners, well-treated by their American keepers and comforted by the knowledge that the war could not last forever, followed orders. Captain Marshall Hawks, chief of the prisoner of war division of the Third Service Command, stated that "it is of interest to note that during the entire stay of the prisoners in Maryland, there were few behavior problems, few escapes, most of which were short lived, and no evidence of sabotage." W. Alvord Sherman, assistant state supervisor of emergency farm labor, "explained that the prisoners [he knew] were well-behaved, industrious, and generally cooperative." Irene Moxey Harper, an East New Market teenager at the time, remembered that the Hurlock Germans "did nothing negative or disrespectful. They were beautiful people." Most POWs in Maryland worked where ordered and took advantage of the athletic, cultural, and religious opportunities offered them.[24]

Inevitably, though, some internees—almost always Germans—resisted camp authority. Escapes and strikes, though only occasional events, took place and resulted in lost work. Escape constituted a difficult, potentially fatal, proposition.

The odds against the success of such a venture proved astronomic. A prisoner first needed to circumvent camp guards. Even if he succeeded in clearing the grounds of his camp, the escapee entered hostile territory thousands of miles from his homeland. He became a wanted man, sought by both the U.S. Army and Federal Bureau of Investigation. A handful of prisoners dared to beat the odds. On 15 June 1944, at about 6:55 P.M., Korvettenkapitaen Werner Henke attempted to scale the enclosure wire at his Fort Meade work camp. A guard repeatedly screamed at him to stop, but to no avail. When Henke mounted the barbed wire fence the soldier fired, killing the German almost instantly.[25]

The average escapee did not die, but experienced recapture, usually within twenty-four hours. The case of Siegfried Vogel, a nineteen-year-old German, proved typical. Reported missing from the Cambridge POW installation on 24 July 1945, he was recaptured near East New Market the next clay. One man, though, achieved considerably greater success. On 30 October 1945, Karl Hermann Pospiech, a twenty-one-year-old former tank corpsman interned at Camp Somerset, made good a daring escape by wearing the U.S. Army trousers he had worn in a POW stage play. Pospiech made his way to New York City, where, aided by his command of English, he procured a job in the shipping department at Roberta Roberts perfumery. Pospiech managed to sustain himself in anonymity month after month, spending his leisure time at both Carnegie Hall and the Metropolitan Opera. In April 1946 the FBI recaptured him—but not before he had experienced five months of freedom. When taken, "Karl Hermann" had both a social security card and American discharge pin! [26]

Strikes, like escapes, took place only periodically and met with no lasting success. Most occurred because prisoners believed the job given them too difficult; a few protested what the POWs considered war-related assignments. To deal with prisoner strikes, the provost marshal general's office adopted the "No work, No Eat" policy of World War I. If a POW refused to work or a group of prisoners went out on strike, diet would be restricted to bread and water. Time in the camp guardhouse accompanied this limited meal plan. At Fort Meade refusal to obey American orders or possession of unauthorized items landed offenders in the brig on bread and water. At Camp Somerset "rebellious Germans were promptly placed on reduced diets until they became agreeable." In at least one instance, however, Eastern Shore farmers deemed more extreme measures necessary. Prisoners at Camp Somerset disliked cutting cord wood in the dense, swampy forests around Westover. On one occasion, in order to avoid this odious task, several balked at this intrinsically difficult work. The farmers in charge "stripped them of their clothes and chained them to a tree in the swamp. After a three-hour ordeal with Somerset's infamous mosquitoes, the Germans turned cooperative."[27]

Buoyed by the successful use of prisoners of war as a labor resource, the war department in the fall of 1944 turned toward a new project aimed to modify the

political views of German captives. The third and final phase of the flowering POW program sought to shift the allegiance of German POWs from National Socialism to political democracy. In September of that year the provost marshal general's office created the Prisoner of War Special Projects Division (POWSPD), which took control of the re-education effort. Because the Geneva code prohibited compulsory measures designed specifically to alter the political ideas of POWs, the POWSPD instituted a voluntary program euphemistically known as "Intellectual Diversion," a "massive multimedia effort."[28]

Before "Intellectual Diversion," there were signs that Nazi extremists exercised unwholesome influence. At Camp Somerset, ardent Nazis harassed the less-committed. A Nazi medic refused to administer first aid unless he received a *heil* salute. Two other hardcore POWs harassed prisoner of war churchgoers. National Socialist sympathizers among the internees also burned copies of *Der Ruf* (*The Call*), a national prisoner of war newspaper produced by anti-Nazi POWs under the guidance of POWSPD officers at Camp Kearney, Rhode Island. The German spokesman at Camp Somerset explained opposition to *Der Ruf* when he proclaimed "we know that it comes from higher authority." Certain Fort Meade POWs also disliked *Der Ruf* and destroyed the paper when possible. At the Holabird Signal Depot, an anti-Nazi missed four days of work because [he had been] placed in protective custody. The camp commander feared that this man would be attacked by Nazi thugs unless quarantined. At Easton a bullpen separated POWs "at odds" with their countrymen. Many references to Germans placed in camp brigs for "political reasons" appeared in inspection reports.[29] Though no Nazi prisoner ever murdered an anti-Nazi in Maryland camps, intimidation was another matter entirely. As part of its efforts to defuse political tension within the Maryland camps, the POWSPD dispatched an Assistant Executive Officer (AEO) to each installation. The AEO identified the most rabid Nazis and then had them transferred to segregated camps, one of them in Oklahoma. At Somerset, the AEO followed standard procedure by removing the Nazi medic and his anti-religious comrades.[30] Their influence gone, Somerset experienced fewer problems. The POWSPD did not waste its energies on hardcore National Socialists. It accepted the thinking that 8 to 10 percent of the prisoners were incorrigible. Reindoctrination efforts in Maryland concentrated on German anti-Nazis and political moderates, stimulating individualism among them and eroding uncritical habits. These men, though they often opposed Adolf Hitler, were not automatically democrats. AEOs throughout the Free State worked to change that fact.

Camp commanders on the Eastern Shore received bound volumes containing photographs of German atrocities. Captain Wame Hallmark, officer in charge of the Easton POWs, placed them "in the recreation end of the mess tents." He also tacked up another large poster, supplied by the Signal Corps, in the camp canteen. It filled a space four by six feet and showed "a close-up of a pile of naked,

starved corpses in a prison camp in Germany." The caption read "This is Why We Fight."[31] *Der Ruf* circulated at Fort Meade, Camp Somerset, Holabird Signal Depot, Fort Washington and other camps. Atrocity pictures and newspaper accounts detailing the inhuman fate of the Jews caused some Germans to reevaluate National Socialism.

In their struggle to modify the political views of captured fascists, AEOs wanted to awaken or sharpen the feeling for the political responsibility of the citizen," remarked a close student of their work; "to arouse a capacity for spontaneity on the part of men whose training and education had placed special value on obedience and a respect of hierarchy; and to provide sorely needed encouragement to men who were asked to welcome the ruin of their individual and collective existence as the precondition of a new 'good life.'"[32]

The AEO hoped to accomplish these ambitious objectives through the study of German and United States history. He explained to the prisoners of war that "anachronistic social and political forces," which stifled individual freedom of expression, had led to "the undemocratic reality of the German past." He insisted that "a direct connection [existed] between Nazism and the Realpolitik of Frederick II and Bismarck." But, he also made it clear that there were "democratic potentialities in the German past."[33] The example of the Weimer Republic, both its good and its mistakes, loomed large. The AEO emphasized the "wrong turns" and "dead ends" contained within the German past while stressing the importance of democracy to American development. In so doing the AEO hoped to convince the POWs that a democratic form of government offered post-war Germany the best avenue to future success.

After V-E day planning began for the repatriation of Axis prisoners of war. From the summer of 1945 through the spring of 1946, the prisoners gradually left Maryland. By August 1946 all German and Italian POWs had departed except for a handful either confined to hospitals or to stockades for violations of military law.[34]

By that time, the POW program in Maryland had passed through three distinct stages. Security concerns held precedence until December 1943, War Department planners sacrificing prisoner output in the interest of airtight containment. In Maryland the decision to send prisoners to farms, canneries, and saw mills resulted in higher industrial output and additional food for the American war effort. Reeducation, the final stage in the burgeoning POW program, began after it became clear that the Third Reich was doomed. Effective throughout 1945 and into 1946, it forced German prisoners to confront the evils of their government and convinced some men of the advantages inherent in "the American way."

Maryland POWs, though forced to earn their keep, generally received excellent treatment at a time when the vast majority of Americans in and out of government may have been tempted to retaliate against them. Self-interest, of course, co-existed with humanitarianism.

NOTES

The largest repository of sources for any general study on Axis prisoners of war in the United States is the National Archives. Both the Modem Military Branch (MMB) and the Diplomatic Branch (DB) hold a variety of valuable documents. These include the records of the Provost Marshal General's Office (PMGO) and camp inspection reports by such agencies as the International Red Cross, the Legation of Switzerland, and the U.S. State Department. The NA also holds a one-reel-microfilm compilation titled "Weekly and Semi-Monthly Reports on Prisoners of War, June 1942–30 June 1946." This reel contains opening and closing dates for all the base and branch POW installations in the U.S., plus population statistics.

The Maryland Historical Society (MdHS) in Baltimore houses specific information on Axis prisoners of war. Manuscript Collection 2010, including box 165:PW-PWI and box 35:BMM, should be consulted. In addition, volume I of Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in World War II,* is helpful, containing a list of prisoner installations.

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Comment

My interest in prisoners of war goes back twenty years. In 1985, I was a twenty-four-year-old history graduate student at the University of Maryland. Keith W. Olson, my advisor, suggested that I might want to do my master's thesis on Axis prisoners of war in Maryland. Truthfully, at that point I did not even know that prisoners of war had been held in the United States during World War II. But it sounded like a fascinating subject and I jumped on it. I have never regretted that decision.

I have returned to the prisoners of war from time to time. In 2002, for example, I published an article on Axis prisoners of war in Kentucky for the *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*. I am in the orthodox school in terms of World War II prisoner of war historiography. By that, I mean that I follow in the footsteps of scholars such as Arnold Krammer, who stressed both the fine treatment accorded to Axis prisoners by American authorities and the significance of the reeducation program. He noted, too, that the War Department generally followed the Geneva Convention of 1929 when dealing with POWs. This was one factor, among many, which insured good treatment. More recent work on the POWs attempts to move beyond the traditional approach. In an article that appeared earlier this year in *The Journal of Military History*, Matthias Reiss views the POWs through the lens of masculine studies. Reiss argues that while the Geneva Convention defined the broad parameters of War Department policy toward the prisoners, their reception on the local level (where the American people generally held them in high regard) was decisively influenced by appearance. The German POWs are depicted as sturdy, healthy young men, often as "beautiful," and Americans who met them soon associated them consciously or subconsciously with the best attributes of American men. The upshot was that American farmers, manufacturers, and others viewed the German POWs most favorably.

Given that we live in the post–9/11 age, it is perhaps well that I conclude by tying the past to the present. During World War II, German, Italian, and Japanese prisoners of war benefited greatly from American adherence to the Geneva Convention. They were treated in a manner consistent with human dignity. Although some abuses occured, Army officers and civilian officials did not condone them. The U.S. government currently is engaged in a "war on terrorism," in which there are no designated prisoners of this war, only "enemy combatants," who are denied the protection of the Geneva Conventions. Incidents of abuses and torture of Iraqi and Afghani detainees by American military and other officials subsequently far outnumber similar reported incidents perpetrated against a much larger body of Axis prisoners during World War II.

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At the Track: Thoroughbred Racing in Maryland, 1870–1973

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Legend has it that in 1868 Maryland governor Oden Bowie attended a Saratoga luncheon gathering and got so carried away with enthusiasm to establish a new race track in Baltimore that he offered a $15,000 purse for a new stakes called the Dinner Party. It had been proposed by New Yorker Milton H. Sanford, a merchant who had acquired part of his fortune by selling blankets during the Civil War. Governor Bowie not only guaranteed the considerable purse, but he did so without a track to run the race on. He assured the group that a new one would be built in Maryland and be available for the Dinner Party Stakes in 1870.

Bowie was aware that land for a track would be available northwest of Baltimore, in an area known as Pimlico. It had originally been settled by an unknown Englishman who hailed from somewhere near Olde Ben Pimlico's Tavern, London. The enterprising Englishman had "plowed up a circle on the property and called it a racetrack." He disappeared after a few years, and horsemen who had raced informally on Charles Street Avenue "took hold of the place and put many improvements on it."[1] Then in 1866 the Maryland Agricultural Society, which had been holding annual fairs at a race course near Huntingdon Avenue and 25th Street for more than twenty years, became interested in moving to the Pimlico area: the Huntingdon Avenue car line ran its rails directly across the race course. Through the influence of William Devries and E. Law Rogers, the General Assembly in 1867 incorporated the Maryland Agricultural Society and appropriated $25,000 for purchase of about seventy acres at the Pimlico site. Despite other subscriptions, the society was unable to raise enough capital to equip the place properly and in December 1869 it leased the grounds to the Maryland Jockey Club for ten years at the annual rent of $1,000. The Agricultural Society retained the use of the grounds for its fairs for one week annually.

On 14 May 1870 the Maryland Jockey Club met at Barnum's Hotel in Baltimore, famous as a haven for Southerners and sportsmen, to plan a fall race meeting and elect Governor Bowie president. Not surprisingly, a number of persons prominent in the business, professional, and social life of Baltimore were also elected as officials of the rejuvenated club, which had originated in Annapolis in 1743. Washington Booth and Edward Lloyd served as vice presidents, James L.

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McLane as secretary, Henry Elliott Johnston (succeeded by John S. Gittings) as treasurer, and J. D. Kremelberg and F. M. Hall as race stewards. Executive committeemen included Devries, Dr. J. Hanson Thomas, Thomas H. Morris, Jacob Brandt, Robert Garrett, Edward Patterson, F. Raine, George Small and F. B. Loney.

All thoroughbreds trace their ancestry to three foundation sires in early-modern England—the Darley Arabian, Godolphin Arabian and Byerly Turk. Named for their owners (Thomas Darley, Lord Godolphin, and Capt. Robert Byerly), these three stallions had been brought to Britain from the Mediterranean in about 1700 for their unusual speed and stamina. The thoroughbred soon established itself, in the words of a modern Maryland horseman, as "the aristocrat of the equine species." The thoroughbred:

> gives evidence of his breeding by speed, courage, elegance of form and symmetry, the softness of thin skin, prominent veins, and expression. No other breed possesses quite the combination of bone, tendon, muscle and—above all—the heart and speed of the Thoroughbred. It is his 'will to win' that sets apart the Thoroughbred from all other equines.[2]

The Darley Arabian turned out to be the most successful sire, and some of his most famous sons and daughters found their way to Maryland.

Thoroughbred racing under the sponsorship of the Maryland Jockey Club opened in grand style at Pimlico on 25 October 1870. Pimlico was Maryland's answer to the fashionable tracks at Saratoga, Metarie near New Orleans, and in Kentucky. Twelve thousand people attended the first day's races at Pimlico, where the original grandstand was topped by three spires and the scene was dominated by the elaborate Victorian club house. The second day of the 1870 meeting turned out to be one of the more significant in the history of the Maryland Jockey Club because on 26 October the long-awaited Dinner Party Stakes, carrying a purse of $18,500, was run. Horse racing is sustained by upsets, and the un-anticipated horse won the Dinner Party.

Described by afficianados as a cart horse, the colt Preakness, sired by the famed Lexington, won—to the disgust of the favorite's backers, carrying the colors of Milton Sanford. Preakness, the English jockey William Hayward up, ran the two miles in 3.47 1/2. A street adjoining Pimlico was named for the rider. In 1873 the Maryland Jockey Club proposed a new three-year-old stakes race and decided to name it the Preakness (the race Preakness had won was often referred to as the Dixie race, and so the Dinner Party Stakes eventually became the Dixie, Pimlico's oldest stakes event).

The first Preakness with a $1,000 purse was run on Tuesday, 27 May 1873, drawing seven starters from an original list of twenty-one nominees. The crowd was entertained by the uniformed Fifth Regiment Band, which played selections

from Martha, Il Trovatore, and other operas. The Preakness was contested at a mile and a half, with now ex-governor Oden Bowie's Gatesby the favorite. Survivor, owned by John Chamberlain, took the lead with a half mile to go and drew away to win by ten lengths, a margin of victory that has never been bettered in 118 runnings.

The significance of the first Preakness Stakes escaped most racing fans and the *Baltimore Sun*, too, which concentrated on the fact that the meeting was the first spring racing at Pimlico. "Those who had seen Pimlico only in the red and yellow tints of autumn, or remembered its clinging mud and biting winds were surprised to see it in the bright verdure of May," said the *Sun*. "The general verdict was therefore more favorable."[3] Even more notably, the first Preakness featured a "French Mutuel" machine. The invention of Pierre Oiler of Paris, this contraption printed $5 tickets and supplied racing with the betting term pari-mutuel. The machine provided the number of tickets sold on each horse so that the holders of tickets on the winning horse were paid in proportion to the number of tickets sold. The novel form of betting—it had been introduced at Pimlico the previous fall—was well received. Up to then, wagering consisted in participating in an auction or pool for the desired horse or betting with bookmakers, who shouted their odds and provided a receipt once the bettor accepted an odds quote. Oiler's crude machine became the forerunner of the commercial Totalisator and computers, which determine payoffs on all forms of complicated multiple wagering.

In the 1870s the Maryland Jockey Club at Pimlico enjoyed what amounted to a "golden age." Racing in Baltimore attained new stature, competing with the sport in New York, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Illinois. In 1876 tobacco mogul Pierre Lorrilard won the race with his colt Shirley, the first, successful favorite at even money odds to finish first in the history of the race. Credited with inventing the tuxedo at his Tuxedo Park Club in New York, Lorrilard owned the Rancocas Stud Farm in New Jersey, the second largest in America at the time. Lorrilard supplied the horse Parole in what was advertised as the "Great Sweepstakes at Pimlico" and run 24 October 1877.

Three horses started. The overwhelming favorite was Ten Broeck, regarded as unbeatable (he had won eight of eight starts in the west as a five-year-old and six of seven the previous season). Tom Ochiltree, winner of the 1875 Preakness, and Parole challenged him. Congress adjourned for the race and chartered a special train. A crowd of perhaps twenty thousand persons witnessed the event. The Kentuckians bet heavily on Ten Broeck. Virtually everyone overlooked Parole, but Lorrilard and his retinue of admirers accepted all offers. Parole won by four lengths. Lorrilard collected a fabulous sum, hundreds supposedly went bankrupt, and the Maryland Jockey Club profited handsomely. Its share of betting proceeds went toward a new spur line from the Western Maryland main line, west of the grounds (it opened in 1881, making it possible to ride a train from Baltimore's Hillen Station near City Hall to Pimlico for a round-trip fare of fifty cents).

The Lorrilard name continued to be heard at Pimlico, but the emphasis shifted to Pierre's brother George, who also had assembled a powerful racing stable. His horses swept five straight Preakness events from 1878 through 1882. Duke of Magenta started what, has become known as the "Lorrilard years." Harold, Grenada, Saunteerer and Vanguard Guard, followed in order for George Lorrilard. Those five years of quality fields in the Preakness enabled the race to be acclaimed as an American classic and to be compared with England's Epsom Derby. Much of the credit for the sustained success of the Lorillard horses went to trainer Robert Wyndham Walden, who maintained Bowling Brook Farm at Middleburg, Maryland. In all, Walden recorded seven Preakness winners from 1875 to 1888, a record never surpassed. When he died in 1905, the *New York Herald* called him "the most successful trainer of Thoroughbreds in America."

Unhappily, Pimlico lost its bloom. George Lorillard grew ill and in 1883 sold off his stable. Heavy rains canceled the first day of the 1883 meeting. That year and next the Preakness deteriorated into unappealing contests, each one attracting only two starters. Competition from new tracks in New Jersey and New York thus took their toll. Interest surged a bit in 1887, when William Jennings's three-year-old colt Dunboyne captured the Preakness. Jennings owned Glengar Farm, then on Smith Avenue near Pimlico; he walked his horses to and from the track (the Jennings Handicap now run each year at Pimlico commemorates this local horseman). In 1888 Walden's Refund won the Preakness in a mismatch. The following year the great stakes race was virtually a walkover. Oden Bowie, loyal to the cause, provided his colt Japhet, which lost badly. Bowie announced that the meeting had been a financial failure, as well. Baltimore racing fans had discovered a far more appealing way of wagering: The telegraph carried race results to what were called "poolrooms" operated by bookmakers who provided comfortable armchairs and instant payoffs to the winners. Then in July 1889 the Washington Jockey Club purchased ground for a track near Benning, Maryland—an excellent location near Washington which the Maryland Jockey Club had considered. On 7 August, after a lengthy meeting, the Maryland Jockey Club declared there would be no fall race meeting at Pimlico.

Pimlico was not abandoned. The Maryland Jockey Club maintained its club house there, and Governor Frank Brown attempted to install harness racing. The Pimlico Driving Club was formed and the trotters experienced two years of prosperity "with the largest membership that ever subscribed to any new racing association," according to the *Baltimore American.*[4] Then trouble beset the harness operation. Fire destroyed the grandstand in 1894. In 1895, 1896, and 1897 the Pimlico Driving Club sponsored steeplechase and flat racing there. Neither was of a major variety, but there is record of Max Hirsch, later to become a noted trainer and horseman, riding at Pimlico in 1896. In the spring of 1898 another use was found for Pimlico—it became Camp Wilmer after the outbreak of the Spanish-Ameri-

can War. Troops of the First Maryland Brigade marched to the track to begin training for duty in Cuba. Camp Wilmer disappeared and in 1900 a new group called the Maryland Steeplechase Association formed under the direction of New Englander William R. Riggs and Ral Parr. The steeplechase association conducted racing at Pimlico from 1900 through 1903.

In 1904, led by Riggs, the Maryland Jockey Club resurfaced and conducted a seven-day fall meeting at which a young trainer, James E. Fitzsimmons (later known as "Sunny Jim," he trained horses until he was past the age of ninety), was the standout horseman.[5] That year William R. Hammond purchased the tract at Pimlico for $70,000 and made the property available to the Maryland Jockey Club. As the revival at Pimlico continued, New York tracks fell siege to reformers, who in 1908 obtained a law barring betting in the state. While sad news in New York, the statute greatly helped Maryland racing, which afterward could attract important stables and expand its number of racing days.

Riggs's major objective at Pimlico was to restore the Preakness Stakes to its high level. The race had gone north after Pimlico shut down in 1889—one year staged at Morris Park, in New York, then run at the Gravesend track in Brooklyn through 1908. For many years these sixteen runnings of the Preakness remained hidden, like buried treasure. When the Maryland Jockey Club restored the Preakness at the 1909 meeting at Pimlico, the wayward Preakness races were ignored; they were not counted as previous runnings. (Only in 1948 did David F. Woods, Pimlico's publicist, announce that he had found fifteen "lost" Preaknesses.) The first Preakness at Pimlico in twenty years was run 12 May 1909 at a mile distance and was captured by Effendi, a colt owned by W. T. Ryan.

Two events that day contributed to Pimlico tradition. Before the Preakness an unidentified bugler, caught in the excitement of the moment, began playing "Maryland, My Maryland" at the bandstand. Other musicians joined the impromptu performance, to the delight of the crowd. Playing "Maryland, My Maryland" as the horses parade to the post became a Preakness ritual. Painting of the weathervane that then topped the old Clubhouse cupola in the colors of the winning Preakness owner also dates from that race.[6]

The New York reform movement, which also carried to Illinois, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Rhode Island, produced a boom in Maryland. Owners, trainers, and major stables moved to the state as betting increased to produce larger purses. The Maryland Jockey Club prospered, and new promoters looked at other sites for additional tracks. Maryland was on the brink of expansion that would make the state a major thoroughbred area. First came a track superbly placed on the Baltimore and Ohio main line at Laurel. A Florida promoter, H. D. Brown, sold the project to farm and estate owners in Laurel. "Land was cheap there and the entire infield was bought for $500," recalled one resident. "It was also marshy and covered with sassafras tress and blackberry bushes which had to be cleaned out."[7]

After a grandstand was built, automobile races were staged to interest the public. Laurel opened in 1910 with informal racing for thirty days. A requirement was that a four-county fair was to be held at the same time. The corporate name of Laurel became the Maryland State Fair, Inc. Laurel officially moved onto the Maryland Thoroughbred scene on 13 October 1911, joining Pimlico as the second major racing spot in the state. Laurel's debut did not go unnoticed; within three years the original investors sold out to James Butler, a New York grocery entrepreneur, who signed Matt J. Winn of Kentucky Derby promotional fame as general manager.

Soon after Laurel's opening, Maryland had a third mile track, this one on the banks of the Susquehanna River at Havre de Grace. Edward Burke, president of the Bookmakers Association, headed the Harford Agricultural and Breeders Association, which founded the new track. Havre de Grace opened in late August 1912. Significantly, the 132-acre site was situated near the Pennsylvania Railroad's main line between Washington, Philadelphia, and New York; the race course also lay within easy cab distance of the Baltimore and Ohio's rail line serving the same cities. Maryland thoroughbred racing enjoyed boom times.

In the spring of 1914 the Southern Maryland Agricultural Association, directed by veteran track officials James F. O'Hara and Gadsen Bryan, opened a half-mile track at Upper Marlboro and within a few months had a mile track ready in the pine woods at Bowie, about twenty miles from Washington, D.C. The wood used in the grandstand, which accommodated three thousand persons, was cut from trees on the isolated site. The first meeting at Bowie was run in opposition to Laurel's, some ten miles away, without a license from the (New York) Jockey Club, which wielded supreme authority before the creation of a state racing commission. After the so-called "outlaw" meeting, the Jockey Club in 1915 reinstated Bowie and formally allotted it racing dates formerly used by the Benning track in Washington. Known as a country track and popularly referred to as the "track in the pines," Bowie benefited from Washington and Baltimore Electric Railroad tracks that ran through its grounds until 1935. Afterward the Pennsylvania Railroad built a spur to the track from its Washington-to-New York main line.

With four mile-race courses in operation by 1914, Maryland offered the country's racing stables an attractive circuit and a chance to compete for purses without shipping horses great distances. Maryland moved near the top in American racing. Laurel gained national headlines with two memorable match races. On 18 October, Omar Khayyam, the Kentucky Derby winner, and his rival three-year-old Hourless, owned by August Belmont, met in the American Championship Stakes. Omar Khayyam, foaled in England, had been the first foreign bred horse to win the Derby. A crowd of twenty thousand turned out to see the match. Edward B. McLean donated a gold trophy as an added prize to the $10,200 purse. Hourless, trailing his rival for most of the way, rallied to win by a length. Sam

Hildredi, a noted trainer who saddled Hourless, called the match "the most remarkable horse race I have ever seen."[8] A year later, two of the season's top two-year-olds met at Laurel in a match. Eternal beat Billy Kelly by a head, the proceeds of the race being donated to the Red Cross.

Despite the Maryland Jockey Club's conservative approach to racing (authorities at Churchill Downs in Louisville were far more flamboyant), Pimlico was the dominant track in Maryland, and the Preakness vied with the Kentucky Derby as the most prestigious race in the country. In the spring of 1918 the Maryland Jockey Club raised the Preakness purse to $15,000, thus equaling that of the Kentucky Derby. That year the field filled with twenty-six entries, and the Jockey Club decided to run the race in two divisions rather than split the advertised purse. The idea of a split Preakness caught on with the public, The *Evening Sun* expressed the enthusiasm:

> For years Maryland has held its own in the Thoroughbred horse world, while major league ball clubs and other attractions have passed away, but never has any track in the state endeavored to set aside one day as the most remarkable of the season and make sportsmen all over the world realize there is still some of the old racing spirit left.[9]

To add to the color, the club opened the infield to the public at no charge (today it costs $20 per person). As a result the largest crowd in Preakness history witnessed A. K. Macomber's English-bred War Cloud win the first section of the Preakness after finishing fourth in the Kentucky Derby. Jack Hare Jr. led most of the way to capture the second half.

The Maryland Jockey Club had a problem that year with the new Preakness trophy, the Woodlawn Vase, a superb piece of Tiffany silver. Thomas Clyde, a director, had given it to the Maryland Jockey Club a year earlier. The thirty-four-inch trophy dates from 1860 and had been buried for safe-keeping during the Civil War. With two Preakness winners in 1918, the club decided to hold the trophy until the next year.

Winning owners retained the vase for a year from 1919 until 1953, when Alfred G. Vanderbilt's Native Dancer won and Mrs. Vanderbilt refused to accept responsibility for the trophy. Thereafter the winning owner received a replica. Now insured for $1 million, the original resides at the Baltimore Museum of Art and, heavily guarded, goes to Pimlico each year at Preakness time.

After World War I the Maryland Jockey Club stunned the racing world by raising the Preakness purse to $30,000 and thereby making it the richest race in the country. A dozen three-year-olds went to the post in 1919, including Sir Barton, the Kentucky Derby winner. Although the Preakness was held only four days after the Derby and Sir Barton had spent much of the time on a train riding from

Louisville to Baltimore, the chestnut colt owned by Commander J. K. L. Ross won again (a Canadian, Ross maintained a thoroughbred farm in Maryland, on the site of the former Free State harness track near Laurel). That season Sir Barton also captured the Belmont Stakes to become the first of eleven horses—to date—to win what in the 1930s became known as the Triple Crown.

The good fortune of the Maryland Jockey Club continued into 1920. Four years before, August Belmont II had bred the mare Mahubah to Fair Play. The result was My Man o' War, a striking colt that became the most important horse in America over the next thirty years. He had a Maryland connection. Belmont's secretary, Adolphe Pons, was an expert on bloodlines who advised the Mahubah-Fair Play match. Pons eventually established a farm in Harford County near Bel Air. He called the farm Country Life, and today it is the oldest continuously operated breeding establishment in the state, run by his son Joseph and grandsons Josh, Andrew, Michael, and their families.

My Man o' War became simply Man o' War, the name being changed by Samuel Riddle after he bought the colt as a yearling at a Saratoga auction for $5,000. The Maryland Jockey Club and the Preakness received a tremendous boost when Riddle decided that Man o' War would not start in the Kentucky Derby but instead make his three-year-old debut in the Preakness. The Preakness immediately became the race of the year. Man o' War had enjoyed a scintillating year as a two-year-old, winning eight of nine starts and in the Sanford Stakes at Saratoga losing to the appropriately named Upset only because he was blocked. Riddle wintered Man o' War on Maryland's Eastern Shore at his farm in Berlin. The colt grew stronger and powerful looking. At the Preakness his fame preceded him; a crowd of twenty thousand people came just to watch him work out, pushing down a fence to get a better look. On race day a classy field lined up against Man o' War—one of the contenders being Upset. Despite carrying 126 pounds, Man o' War brushed off his opponents easily. "He won the Preakness but it was not a race," wrote Joseph J. Quinn in the *Sun*, "only a performance." Man o' War never lost another race and was retired for breeding after his three-year-old season. He lived to be thirty; his death in 1947 made the front pages of newspapers across the country.

In the Roaring Twenties the Maryland Jockey Club raised the Preakness purse to $40,000 (1921) and then, the following year, to $50,000—a level maintained until 1933, when it fell back to $25,000. In flush times the fat purse enabled Maryland racing to stay in step with the pace-setting Kentucky Derby. Powerful New York stables dominated the Preakness during the 1920s. Harry Payne Whitney, son of the navy secretary and railroad mogul William Collins Whitney, had his well known Eton blue and brown colors carried to victory by Broomspun (1921), Bostonian (1927), and Victorian (1928). Harry Whitney bred and owned six Preakness winners, having taken the classic earlier with Royal Tourist (1908), Buskin (1913), and Holiday (1914). Not until 1968, when Calumet Farm recorded its

seventh victory, did Whitney's mark fall. Whitney was the ultimate sportsman, excelling in polo and yachting while substantially increasing his $25 million inheritance.

Members of the Maryland Jockey Club and racing fans became familiar with the names of such millionaires. Rivaling Whitney at Preaknesses during the twenties was the New York real-estate tycoon Walter J. Salmon, who owned Mereworth Farm in Kentucky and gained three Preakness victories. His horse Vigil beat the eventual Derby winner, Zev, in 1923; Display won the Preakness in 1926, Dr. Freeland in 1929. The Preakness of 1924 was notable in that it was won by a filly, Nellie Morse, the last of four females to capture the classic. That year also marked the adoption of the Jockey Club's weight-for-age rule, by which three-year-old colts carried 126 pounds and fillies 121 (the rule has been followed since 1924). Nellie Morse, who carried 121 pounds, was owned by H. C. Fisher, the cartoonist who drew the "Mutt and Jeff" comic-page feature.

Racing at Laurel, Havre de Grace, and Bowie did not match the excitement at Pimlico with its Preakness and Dixie Handicap (revived in 1924), but the sport prospered and the quality increased. Laurel introduced the Selima Stakes in 1926 to honor a famed imported mare of colonial days. William DuPont Jr.'s Fair Star won the first running. The Selima developed into one of the nation's foremost stakes for two-year-old fillies and continues to be run at Laurel. At Havre de Grace in 1920, Man o' War, carrying 138 pounds, won the Potomac Handicap. Bowie welcomed Equipoise to become racing's "Chocolate Soldier" for his racing bow on 7 April 1930. In 1927 Bowie's grandstand and clubhouse burned, but the track rebounded by building a concrete and steel stand and clubhouse (it is now a training center). In 1921 Pimlico established the Pimlico Futurity, a two-year-old stakes whose $40,000 purse made it the richest two-year-old race in the nation at the time (transferred to Laurel in the 1960s, it is still run annually).

During the Depression three horses won the Preakness on their way to capturing the Triple Crown. In the spring of 1930 Maryland fans anticipated the appearance of Gallant Fox, a horse raised at Belair in Prince George's County—an estate that first had gained prominence in Maryland racing during the eighteenth century. All reserved seats at Pimlico were sold in advance as a field of eleven took the track.

Up on Gallant Fox was Earle Sande (of writer Damon Runyon's poem, "A Handy Guy Like Sande"). Sande had taken a near fatal spill in 1924 and now hoped to launch a comeback. Gallant Fox's trainer was the same "Sunny Jim" Fitzsimmons who had first gained notice at Pimlico in 1904. That day Sande called on all of his skill to guide Gallant Fox to a three-quarter length victory at Pimlico. A week later (in 1930 the Preakness was run before the Derby) Gallant Fox also won at Louisville. He then captured the Belmont at New York and the Triple Crown. The "Fox of Belair" later enjoyed another distinction; he was the only

Triple Crown winner to sire a Triple Crown victor. In 1935 his son Omaha (also raised at Belair and trained by Fitzsimmons) duplicated the feat, except that he won the Derby a week before his triumph in the Preakness. Two years after Omaha, Man o' War's son War Admiral (also owned and bred by Samuel Riddle) outgamed Pompoon, the runner up in the Derby, in a long stretch battle won by a head. War Admiral became the third Triple Crown winner of the decade.

In 1939, despite the rain on Preakness day, Pimlico provided an all-Maryland party. Johnstown, the eight-length winner of the Kentucky Derby, was heavily favored to become the third winner of the decade for William Woodward and his Belair stable. Johnstown led early but faltered as an unheralded horse named Challedon, rallied to win. His victory set off a resounding celebration, for he was the Maryland-bred son of the English stallion Challenger II owned by William L. Brann of Walkersville, Maryland. And it was not just a freak victory attributed to mud. Challedon, despite Johnstown's winning the 1939 Belmont Stakes, was named Horse of the Year in both 1939 and 1940. Some veteran observers regard him as the greatest Maryland-bred horse ever.

In retrospect, the Depression years may have been Pimlico's finest and most rewarding. They owed their euphoria not to great thoroughbreds alone. Pimlico's success had much to do with progressive change that itself came about because of Alfred G. Vanderbilt, a slim young man who upset the conservative old guard at Pimlico with what were regarded as disruptive ideas about how to run the track and racing. Vanderbilt had lost his father in the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1917; his mother's father, Isaac E. Emerson (the inventor of Bromo-Seltzer), took him to Pimlico to see the 1923 Preakness. "I bet on Tall Timber because I liked his name," Vanderbilt recalled. "He was coupled with a horse named Vigil who won and I thought this was pretty intriguing, too. That was Walter Salmon's horse."[10] At age twenty-one Vanderbilt inherited his mother's Sagamore Farm, a thoroughbred paradise in Baltimore County's Worthington Valley. He eventually acquired a formidable racing stable. "I had gotten so interested in racing and I lived in Baltimore then, so they put me on the board (Maryland Jockey Club). The first meeting I went to, I was the only guy who didn't have a gray beard. I had never been to a board meeting of any kind," Vanderbilt admitted. At that session he cast the deciding vote to remove a landmark at Pimlico, a rise of ground in the infield that had been the reason the track long had been known as Old Hilltop. Vanderbilt thought it blocked the fan's view of the races. Even after repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, alcohol was not sold at the track. Vanderbilt noted that many people brought their own bottles. He proposed the sale of liquor by the drink. A principal stockholder, outraged at the idea, declared himself willing to sell out. Vanderbilt asked him how much was he asking. "He told me," Vanderbilt remembered, "and I said 'OK, you've got it.'"[11] That purchase made him the largest single stockholder in Pimlico, and he soon introduced a stakes race a day at the Pimlico meetings.

As a result Pimlico offered some of the best racing in the nation. In 1937 Vanderbilt established the Pimlico Special, the first invitational race in America. War Admiral won the first running. The following year a number of tracks tried to match Seabiscuit, the western star, with War Admiral, the Triple Crown winner. After a proposed race at Belmont failed despite the lure of a $100,000 purse, Vanderbilt got the two owners to agree to race their horses at Pimlico for a $15,000 purse. It resulted in a memorable day, 1 November 1938. With the track jammed by forty thousand fans and watched by the entire turf world, Seabiscuit, owned by Charles Howard, upset War Admiral. The big winner was the Maryland Jockey Club, whose members that year elected Vanderbilt president.

Sadly for Maryland racing fans, Vanderbilt diminished his part at Pimlico in 1940 to run Belmont Park, but the years following his lesser role nonetheless were the stuff of pleasant memories. Before the decade ended four Triple Crown winners ran in the Preakness, and Free State racing continued to flourish. Maryland racing took on the appearance of English and Irish turf seasons. In addition to Pimlico and the "milers"—Laurel, Havre de Grace, and Bowie—there was popular racing at county fairs. This colorful circuit started with five-day meetings that became two-week events. Cumberland, in far-western Maryland, began a racing schedule in 1921, following the second "half-mile," Marlboro, which opened in 1914 (Timonium in Baltimore County had started in 1881). Hagerstown first staged its county-fair meetings in 1929. Bel Air, with a three-quarter-mile track, joined the minor circuit in 1937.

These small tracks raced during the summer each year, encouraging racing fans to pack picnics and get on the road. Eventually, however, economics caught up with the minor operations. It cost money to maintain high purses, attractive grandstands, and adequate stable areas, with the track producing income two weeks out of the year. Cumberland closed in 1951. A year later Bel Air was finished (a shopping mall now occupies the site). Hagerstown hung on longer but in 1970 lost out to racing competition in nearby West Virginia. Political maneuvering enabled the Marlboro track to purchase the Hagerstown track's eighteen days, but it shut down in 1972.

Pimlico continued to play the dominant role in Maryland through the 1940s. Despite the war in Europe, the sports world in May, 1941, was enchanted by Whirlaway—a three-year-old from Calumet Farm, owned by baking-powder scion Warren Wright. Whirlaway won the Derby by eight lengths, and a packed crowd at Pimlico saw him stage a famed rally. Last for a half mile, the colt passed the entire field in what seemed an instant and won easily. His rider, Eddie Arcaro, went on to capture a record six Preakness victories but said aboard Whirlaway he thought he was riding a tornado. Two years later Count Fleet, owned by John D. Hertz, the Chicago cab company owner, swept the Derby, Preakness, and Belmont.

Wartime travel restrictions and gasoline rationing threatened to shut down

racing in 1944, compressing Maryland's extensive schedule into one track, Pimlico. Several trolley lines passed Pimlico, so war workers from the shipyards and industrial plants could take full advantage of the expanded schedule. In January 1945 the War Mobilization Board ordered a halt to horse racing, but in May, with victory in Europe, the ban was lifted. Pimlico reopened for one day, 16 June, to run not only the Preakness but also the Dixie, the Pimlico Oaks, the Jennings Handicap, and the Pimlico Nursery Stakes. Sports writers called it the greatest one-day program in Pimlico history. Polynesian, sire of Native Dancer, won the Preakness in an upset.

The postwar years produced top entertainment at Pimlico. In 1946 Derby-winning Assault from the Texas-owned King Ranch won the Preakness on his way to the Triple Crown. In 1947 Faultless provided the unstoppable Calumet Farm with its third Preakness in six years. Calumet was winning races all over the country and found easy pickings at Pimlico with its stakes-a-day schedule. In 1947 Baltimore's channel 2, WMAR, produced its first live telecast from Pimlico (it featured James McManus or Jim McKay, later of ABC network sports, and Joseph B. Kelly, *Sun* sports writer).

Horse racing and Maryland were prepared for another major celebration at the 1948 Preakness. Calumet's sensational two-year-old, Citation (the horse had made his debut at Havre de Grace), had demonstrated such superiority that he was all but conceded the Triple Crown. After beating out his stable mate Coaltown in the Derby, Citation was running out of challengers when he reached Pimlico for the Preakness. Only three other horses started; Citation galloped to an easy victory at odds of ten cents to the dollar. The $2.20 for two payoff was the shortest in history until Spectacular Bid equaled it, winning the Preakness in 1979. Citation, another son of the highly productive Calumet stallion Bull Lea, took the Belmont, became the eighth Triple Crown winner, and later was named Horse of the Year.

Despite the promotional advantage of having four Triple Crown winners appear in a span of eight years, racing at Pimlico faced hard times by the end of the decade. The postwar boom fizzled, causing serious reductions in attendance at other Maryland tracks as well. Tracks rapidly changed hands. Havre de Grace had suffered financially for several seasons due to competition from New Jersey (racing at Garden State had opened during World War II). Havre de Grace's founder and directing head, Edward Burke, had died in 1946. Maryland National Guard General Milton A. Reckord became president of "The Graw" the following year. After a disastrous race session in 1950, Havre de Grace's stockholders, meeting in January, 1951, decided to sell out for approximately $1 million.[12] The track grounds eventually went to the National Guard, and the Maryland Racing Commission re-distributed the track's twenty-five annual racing dates to the three surviving major tracks. A month earlier, the Maryland Jockey Club ended rumors about

the impending sale of Laurel (which it had acquired in 1947) by announcing that the track had been sold to Morris Schapiro, a Baltimorean who owned and operated the Boston Metals Marine Wrecking business. This development took place after the Maryland Jockey Club, whose principals included Alfred Vanderbilt, ran into political and other opposition to their plans to close Pimlico and concentrate Maryland racing at Laurel. Not long after, as the economic downturn continued, negotiations opened for the sale of Pimlico. Late in 1952 brothers Herman and Ben Cohen of Baltimore, who had been extremely successful in businesses ranging from steel production, home building, and television-station ownership, bought Pimlico for $2.2 million. "We bought some wooden stands, well deteriorated, and not too much more," Ben Cohen said. Ben, who was later to win the 1965 Belmont Stakes with his three-year-old Hail to All, had started in the thoroughbred business by buying two yearlings in 1950. He gave them as a Valentine present to his wife Zelda, explaining that he had found something she couldn't return.[13]

Bowie was also heavily involved in the racing news in the early 1950s. An internal squabble among its owners had thrown the track into receivership under M. Hampton Magruder. New York financier Donald Lillis bought controlling interest in the track in 1952. Larry MacPhail, the baseball entrepreneur, was hired to run Bowie, but within a few months Lillis personally took over the track in the pines. Within two years, three of four major Maryland tracks had changed hands, and the other was closed down permanently. (Timonium, which the Maryland Jockey Club had bought in the 1940s, survived only because friends of the track raised enough money selling small-denomination shares of stock; it now conducts ten days of racing that coincide with the annual State Fair.)

Among new managements, Laurel took the initiative. Schapiro announced plans for a novel race, the Washington D.C. International, designed to bring together the best horses in Europe against America's top contenders. All horses were to be invited to run, with free transportation offered to European stables. The first running was set for the fall of 1952 at Laurel. Most observers thought the race would collapse because of travel disadvantages for the foreign horses. Fortunately for Laurel and Schapiro, the American horses did not dominate as generally predicted. England's Wilwyn captured the first International on the grass course (the three domestic horses in the field of seven finished second, fifth, and sixth). The race soon became famous the world over, and after five runnings the United States had won only once.

Pimlico's new management surveyed the future for the Maryland Jockey Club and raised the Preakness purse back to the $100,000 level for 1953. The Cohen family received an unexpected dividend. Native Dancer, owned and bred by Alfred Vanderbilt, was hailed as a potential Triple Crown winner after he roared through his two-year-old campaign, going nine for nine in 1952. In the spring of 1953 Na-

tive Dancer starred on black-and-white television because his gray coat made him easy to spot in a race. He was called the galloping ghost of Sagamore, a reference to Vanderbilt's Baltimore County farm, where the colt was raised. Native Dancer entered the Kentucky Derby unbeaten. In that race he suffered some traffic problems in a roughly run contest and settled for second, beaten by a head by a long shot, Dark Star. Despite the loss, his many followers could not wait for revenge in the Preakness in Baltimore.

A three-week interval between the two races that year ensured that anticipation built high for the rematch. Pimlico's management opened the infield to accommodate the crowd. When the gates clanged open for the Preakness, Dark Star took the early lead but faded after a mile. Native Dancer charged to the front, joined in a long stretch drive by Jamie K. with Eddie Arcaro up. Native Dancer and jockey Eric Guerin won by a neck. His backers had wagered freely, and they roared their approval—even though a two-dollar ticket paid a scant $2.40. It remains one of the best remembered Preakness runnings.

Despite the success of their first Preakness, the Cohen brothers strongly considered merging their newly acquired track's dates with Laurel to combine eighty days of racing at one site. A bill to provide for the merger of Pimlico and Laurel was fought by the Bowie track management and in 1956 met defeat in Annapolis. Thereafter the Cohens dropped plans of leaving Pimlico and concentrated on improving the old Baltimore track.

While Pimlico and Laurel's new managements prospered, Bowie's new owner introduced the $100,000 John B. Campbell Stakes—the richest Maryland Handicap race, designed to attract top horses around the country. It succeeded; in 1955 Alfred Vanderbilt's Social Outcast won, beating among others C. V. Whitney's Fisherman, which had captured the Washington International the previous year. In 1957 Lillis made a significant decision when the three-mile tracks were mired in a prolonged battle over favorable racing dates. All three wanted competition-free racing days and more favorable weather dates. Lillis broke the log jam by announcing that Bowie would venture into February dates and run nearly all its yearly dates before the arrival of spring. Laurel and Pimlico quickly accepted the solution, amid predictions Bowie was headed for financial disaster. Bowie opened 12 February that year and sailed through the entire forty-day meeting without a weather interruption. Wagering averaged more than $1 million a day, making Lillis look like a genius. But next year a mid-February blizzard closed the track for a week. Some older horseplayers are still talking about their experiences that day. But Bowie was resilient, drawing large crowds, many commuting from New York and Philadelphia to the only race track running in the East. Winter racing pioneered by Bowie continued to be profitable and changed the face of Maryland's sport. In 1963 the champion Kelso won the Campbell Handicap. Two years later, Bowie fans watched Kauai King capture the Governor's Cup on his way to victo-

ries in the Kentucky Derby and Preakness. In 1968 Dancer's Image won the same race at Bowie and then took the Derby (he was disqualified from the purse a year later on an illegal medication infraction).

Modern Maryland racing rated national attention. Laurel, which had introduced a showplace clubhouse and turf club three years after the Schapiro purchase, basked in the spotlight. Management negotiated a coup in 1958, when it obtained two Russian horses to run in the International race at the height of the Cold War. Racing fans were entranced at the prospect of seeing riders and horses from Russia. A Laurel record crowd of 40,270 jammed the track on 11 November. The race produced maximum excitement. An American horse, Tudor Era, finished first but was disqualified to second in favor of Australia's Sailor's Guide. Ballymoss, an Irish horse which had won the prestigious Arc de Triomphe a month earlier in Paris, ran third. The two closely observed Russian horses finished sixth and tenth. The Russian contingent was not discouraged, for horses from the Soviet Union returned to Laurel for the next six years, winning two third-place finishes in the International. Another high spot at Laurel was known as the Kelso years, 1961–64. The star thoroughbred owned by Mrs. Richard C. duPont of Chesapeake City was five-time national champion. Racing against hand-picked horses from around the world, Kelso, who preferred a dirt track to grass footing, nevertheless finished second three times on the Laurel turf in the International and finally at age seven, won the classic, setting an American mark for a mile and a half.

The new management at Pimlico restored the old Victorian clubhouse, collected a fine library, and established a National Jockeys' Hall of Fame. The Cohen brothers in the early 1950s also tore down the old wooden stands, replacing them with concrete and steel, and built a modern clubhouse containing dining rooms, theater-type seats, an indoor paddock, jockeys' quarters, and administrative offices. By design or bad luck, the face of the track further changed in the 1960s. In June 1966 fire completely destroyed the Victorian wooden club house, which may have provided racing jargon with the phrase "clubhouse turn." Pimlico's old barns along Pimlico Road came down in 1968 to make way for ten brick and masonry structures. Meantime, Pimlico attracted the top stables in the country for its stakes races. In 1965, when Fathers Image won the Pimlico Futurity, the gross purse totaled $213,900, the richest race ever run in Maryland. The Preakness purse amounted to $195,200 in 1968, making the Maryland three-year-old event the richest in the Triple Crown. The first $3 million betting total in state history was recorded the next year on Preakness day at Pimlico.

While Pimlico, Laurel, and Bowie maintained high quality horse racing, farms devoted to the breeding and raising of horses spread throughout the state. Maryland horse breeders in 1929 had formed the first breeders association in the nation, and it set the pattern for a number of other states. Signers of the association's

original articles of incorporation included Louis McLane Merryman, Dr. J. Fred Adams, and Janon Fisher, Jr. Breckinridge Long, assistant secretary of state during World Wars I and II and former ambassador to Italy, served as the first president. Major Goss L. Stryker, who was on the original board, ruled as secretary treasurer for thirty-six years until his death in 1971. Humphrey S. Finney, who left his native England to come to America as a young man and eventually settled in Maryland, was named field secretary and general manager of the organization, which in 1936 began publishing a monthly magazine, the *Maryland Horse*. Finney edited the journal and played a major part in the development of the organization.

The breeders group blazed a trail in the racing industry. In 1962 the Maryland Horse Breeders Association was instrumental in the passage of landmark state legislation that set aside one-third of one percent of each dollar bet at the tracks for a Maryland Fund. The fund provides bonuses to those winners of Maryland races which are Maryland-bred horses. The legislation passed over the objections of the tracks; it made breeders in the state less dependent on the largesse of track operators. In the 1920s there were fewer than twenty thoroughbred breeding farms in the state. By 1958 the number had increased to 250 farms.

One Maryland breeding farm became known around the world, mainly due to the phenomenal stallion Northern Dancer, a Canadian-bred horse that spent most of his life at Windfields Farm in Cecil County near Chesapeake City. Northern Dancer had a strong Maryland bond. Sired by Neartic, his mother Natalma was a daughter of Alfred Vanderbilt's Native Dancer. Small but agile, Northern Dancer won the Kentucky Derby in 1964, recording the first two-minute time in history. He captured the Preakness but lost the Triple Crown, finishing third in the Belmont. Later that year he sustained an injury and was retired for breeding in Canada. In his second crop, he sired Nijinsky II, which at age two became an undefeated champion in Europe, horse of the year at three, and England's first Triple Crown winner in thirty-five years. Northern Dancer's owner, Edward P. Taylor, reasoned that the stallion would do much better outside Canada at a location that afforded access to the best American mares. Northern Dancer arrived at Windfields late in 1968, and demand for his blood soon became phenomenal. Whenever one of his yearlings was led into an auction ring, a bidding war erupted. In 1970 Taylor syndicated Northern Dancer into thirty-two shares at $75,000 each, retaining twelve shares. Eventually the French government offered to buy the stallion for $40 million (the offer was refused). In time, fifty-four of his yearlings sold for more than $1 million. (In November 1990 Northern Dancer died at Windfields, where he is buried.)

In 1970, the year Pimlico celebrated its centennial, no horse since Citation twenty-two years earlier had won the Triple Crown, and some turf observers wondered if there would ever be another winner. Then Secretariat arrived on the scene. He was son of Bold Ruler, Preakness winner in 1957. Born in Virginia, at

Mrs. Penny Tweedy's Meadow Stable, he made a large part of his mark in Maryland. A gleaming copper-colored animal, he captured the Laurel Futurity (the former Pimlico Futurity) as a two-year-old in 1972 and went on to become Horse of the Year. In 1972 the powerful colt won the Kentucky Derby in the fastest time ever recorded (1 minute 59 and 2/5 seconds), swept to a magnificent victory in the Preakness (the Preakness that year attracted a record crowd of 61,657 and betting near $4 million), and then captured the Belmont Stakes by a record thirty-one lengths.

Secretariat arguably raised thoroughbred sport to its highest level; in a sense he reinvented racing. He re-focused attention on good blood lines. His unprecedented appearance on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* registered a breakthrough in popular awareness of the sport, nationally and internationally. His son, Risen Star, won the Preakness in 1988, the year before the great stallion's death. Space-age racing refinements like multiple simulcasts and TV reruns distract from the sport's center, which Secretariat reinforced—the durability and nobility of the thoroughbred in raw competition.

NOTES

1. *Baltimore American*, 13 January 1895.
2. Joseph B. Hickey, Jr., "The Thoroughbred: Maryland's Heritage," in Virginia Geiger, ed., *Maryland Our Maryland: From the Maryland Our Maryland Symposium at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1987), p. 254. Hickey for many years served as general manager at Windfields Farm, Chesapeake City, Maryland.
3. Joseph J. Challmes, *The Preakness: A History* (Severna Park, Md.: Anaconda Publications, 1975), p. 19.
4. *Baltimore American*, 13 December 1895.
5. *Baltimore News-American*, 22 September 1904.
6. Challmes, *The Preakness*, p. 43.
7. *Baltimore Sun*, 9 April 1961. The newspaper quoted Mrs. James Clark, Sr.
8. Samuel C. Hildreth, *The Spell of the Turf* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1926), p. 208.
9. Challmes, *The Preakness*, p. 50.
10. *Thoroughbred Times*, 26 November 1993, p. 2.
11. Ibid., p. 38.
12. *Sun*, 2 January 1951.
13. *The Preakness at Pimlico* (Baltimore: Maryland Jockey Club, 1987), p. 29.

Comment

Remarkably, nearly twelve years after this sketch of Maryland thoroughbred racing, (1870–1973) the durable sport, which began in colonial days, is surviving. The years since Secretariat won the Triple Crown in 1973 have been marked with excitement and strange twists and turns. Bowie, a major track which was closed in 1985, being purchased by Pimlico and Laurel. Then those two tracks were taken over by new management, only to be bought by still another new owner, Magna Entertainment in 2002.

With it all, the horses are still appearing each dawn to exercise and prepare for afternoon racing. Thoroughbred fans have been scattered by technology—some watching and wagering in their own living rooms. What racing in Maryland, and the U.S. too, needs desperately is a Triple Crown winner. Despite several near misses the last one was Affirmed back in 1978.

Despite persistent rumors the Preakness is still run in Baltimore at Pimlico where it started in 1873. The 2005 Preakness drew 123,000—a record Maryland sports attendance.

Joseph Kelly
Baltimore

The "Barnes Dance": Henry A. Barnes, Thomas D'Alesandro, and Baltimore's Postwar Traffic Pains

MICHAEL P. McCARTHY

In Baltimore of the 1950s, traffic director Henry A. Barnes and Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro Jr. were a study in contrasts. With his bow ties, rumpled suits, and a cigar or pipe in hand, Barnes might have passed for a professor or inventor. (He actually did some inventing, including an improved version of an electronic traffic controller.) D'Alesandro was more dapper in appearance. With a pencil mustache and tailored suits, a handkerchief in the pocket of the jacket, he looked like a successful insurance broker, which he had been for many years before making politics his full-time job.[1] There were other differences. Barnes was brash and a small town boy from upstate New York; D'Alesandro was more reserved and a native of Baltimore's Little Italy, where he still lived. But the similarities were far more important. They took their civic duties seriously, yet enjoyed public life and all the speech-making and schmoozing that was a part of it—welcome opportunities, in their view, to promote programs and win support. It was a good relationship, with D'Alesandro running political interference for Barnes. Indeed that had been part of the hiring agreement, Barnes having learned from experience that bold traffic management frequently led to bureaucratic back-stabbing.

Traffic engineers were trained to keep vehicles moving by improving signage, the timing of traffic lights, and the like. It was still something of a new field in the 1950s, even though it had been around since the 1920s. For many years cities had been reluctant to hire them; most continued to rely on their police departments to handle the job. But Barnes changed that with impressive results at Flint, Michigan, during and shortly after World War II, and later in Denver.[2] With his gift for promotion, Barnes soon had himself and traffic engineering in high demand.

D'Alesandro and Barnes first met in the spring of 1953, when the mayor invited him to Baltimore to do some consulting. The city was then still relying on a police department that was struggling to cope with increased traffic. Impressed with Barnes in person and with his report, D'Alesandro offered him the opportunity to implement his own recommendations. For Barnes, it was a tempting new challenge in a city that had twice the population of Denver. D'Alesandro promised to create a new traffic department that would give Barnes a good deal of

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autonomy and assured him ample funding. To make the decision even easier, D'Alesandro offered Barnes a salary that was more than double what he was making in Denver ($18,000 compared to $8,700), a princely sum three thousand dollars more than D'Alesandro's own compensation.[3]

As traffic director, Barnes did everything from supervising statistical studies to keeping an eye on crews that prepared new street signs and painted lanes on the pavement. The job did not require a college degree, fortunately, since Barnes had none. He did not even possess a high school diploma, having dropped out of school in the eighth grade to help his struggling family and because he had no interest in formal schooling. But he was forever fiddling with things mechanical and electrical. And if not a student in his earlier years, Barnes became one later on, with much night school study, most notably at General Motors' highly regarded Institute of Technology at Flint while he was working at the Chevrolet plant there in the 1930s.

In his years in Baltimore, from 1953 to 1961, Barnes was one of the most competent civil servants, but hardly the most loved with all the "no parking" zones, one-way streets, and other restrictions he imposed. Ironically, Barnes is best remembered not for his traffic achievements but for his novel pedestrian crossing scheme, which was appropriately enough nicknamed "the Barnes Dance." For a brief period, the traffic lights all went red at the same time so that pedestrians could cross at all four corners, or cross diagonally if they so desired. As Barnes himself pointed out, he had not invented the idea. Kansas City and Vancouver, among other North American cities, had already experimented with one or two downtown intersections, but in Denver, Barnes was the first to try it out on all downtown streets. It was soon widely adopted in other cities in America and around the world.[4]

In Baltimore, the Barnes Dance was first introduced in October 1953 in the industrial district of Brooklyn, at the intersection of Hanover Street and Patapsco Avenue. It was used on a temporary basis, when the nearby construction of a railroad overpass caused problems for pedestrians.[5] By November 1954 the system had been installed at seventy intersections. Most were downtown, but some were in outlying neighborhoods. Barnes, for example, put one near Public School 64 in Forest Park in West Baltimore to help students negotiate a particularly busy spot where four streets converged.[6] The innovation was not without problems: adding the "all red" sequence, for example, could create back-ups if vehicular traffic was heavy. This was increasingly the case, and most cities, including Baltimore, eventually eliminated the Barnes Dance. But not entirely. Some four-way pedestrians' lights are still around in the Baltimore area. You can find one, for example, at the corner of Loch Raven Boulevard and Putty Hill Road in Towson in Baltimore County. And across the Pacific, in downtown Auckland, New Zealand, pedestrians are also still doing the Barnes Dance.

Barnes is also well remembered by many old-timers for some ideas he did not put into effect, such as moving the Flower Mart.[7] This one-day fund-raiser of the Women's Civic League had been held every spring since 1911 in Mount Vernon Place, where the busy intersection of Charles and Monument streets was partially (and sometimes completely) closed for several hours. Barnes was concerned about the traffic problem and asked if the Women's Civic League could find another site. When the ladies refused, Barnes suggested that they present him with a large number of signatures to show support for the Mount Vernon site.

But a petition drive proved unnecessary after Barnes made his first visit to the Flower Mart.[7] In a letter to Mrs. C. Sewell Weech, the president of the Women's Civic League, Barnes said he found some traffic problems but not enough to merit making any changes in location. What was surprising was Barnes's warm response to the ambiance of the Flower Mart. The scene at Mount Vernon Place "was one that could be duplicated at few places in America and perhaps not many places in the world." This important annual event should stay right where it is, he said.

> I cannot help but admit that the sight of George Washington smiling benignly on pinch-bespectacled ladies in mink and bewhiskered gentlemen along with urchins munching contentedly on peppermint sticks with lemon, the scent of flower-covered booths, gas-filled balloons and tasty pastries, displayed in harmony with the antiquity of the surroundings, was certainly such as to melt the iron band which is supposed to encase the heart of every traffic engineer.[8]

Admittedly this could have been a bit of satire—it is highly unlikely that the folk attending the Flower Mart were as romantic in appearance as Barnes portrayed them—but the sentiment may have been genuine. In his autobiography, Barnes describes, somewhat painfully, migratory years as a youngster when his family moved from New York to North Carolina and then to Florida in something of an East Coast version of the Joads in John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. Perhaps Barnes saluted the Flower Mart for its continuity and deep community roots, something he had not experienced growing up. In any case, a graceful retreat.

Barnes also got nowhere with a traffic plan for North Charles Street, adjacent to the Homewood campus of Johns Hopkins University. He wanted to reduce a wide grassy median strip in the middle of Charles in order to add another lane of traffic. But twenty-nine linden trees on the median would have to be cut down to make way for the new lane. The *Baltimore Sun* reported that an elderly lady in the neighborhood "just sat down and cried" at the thought of the loss of the trees. Barnes said he "almost cried too," but saw no other solution.[9] Barnes soon changed his mind when he saw how strong the opposition was. Abel Wolman, a professor at Johns Hopkins and a prominent civil engineer who served on various blue-

ribbon city commissions, also sought to preserve the trees and wrote the president of the city council. He did so again the following year when he became concerned that the linden trees might still be endangered. "There are more things to the design of a city than the rapid movement of automobiles," Wolman wrote. He sent a copy of his letter to D'Alesandro with a note saying, "I dislike pestering you with these things—but I have very strong feelings on this subject." Once again, Barnes assured everyone that the trees were safe.[10]

Barnes gained at least a partial victory in that same neighborhood in a milder dispute over some statuary in the middle of Charles and 34th streets, in front of the university's main entrance. The statue in question was a bust of Johns Hopkins situated on a tall pedestal flanked by figures representing the university and the hospital. The Municipal Art Society had commissioned prominent local artist Hans Schuler to create the sculpture in honor of Hopkins, and the memorial had stood on that spot since 1935.

In his 1953 consulting report, Barnes had recommended that the city "eliminate statues and other street obstacles from the center of major thoroughfares. These may be beautiful, but they cause accidents."[11] Barnes had little trouble convincing the university to move the memorial, in no small part because two firemen had been killed in a collision at the spot in June 1952, when two fire trucks attempted to enter the campus from different directions. Each had its view of the other vehicle blocked by the memorial. University officials picked an alternate sidewalk location on the edge of the campus at 33rd Street, where it could still be seen by passersby. This appeared to be a successful compromise, except to Paula Schuler, the sculptor's wife, who asked the mayor to leave the memorial at its original location. If any changes had to be made, she suggested a traffic circle around it. Alas, D'Alesandro said, he felt it necessary to "accept the advice of my traffic expert and engineers."[12]

When Barnes came to Baltimore auto registrations were skyrocketing, the result of post–World War II affluence and the desire of more and more residents to buy automobiles. Commuters preferred the car to streetcars and buses, adding to downtown congestion. The number of trucks also rose as shippers began to favor that mode of transport over railroads. All this traffic rumbled through Baltimore's streets, since the Baltimore County beltway and the Jones Falls Expressway (still in the early phases of construction) were not yet open, and the federal legislation that funded Interstate 95 and the rest of the new expressway system would not pass until 1956.

In his consultant's report, Barnes had stressed the positive. Yes, downtown Baltimore had many narrow streets, but with the possible exception of Salt Lake City, all cities faced the same problem. Baltimore was better off than comparable cities such as Philadelphia or Boston, where there were even more narrow streets. Outside downtown, Barnes said the outlook was bright, with many good thor-

oughfares, "which, if properly controlled and regulated would well serve the city's needs for many years to come." What the city needed was "modern traffic control methods and regulations" to move people and merchandise. In his view, "the task of solving this problem did not seem at all hopeless, or even too terrifically expensive."[13]

Once in office, Barnes quickly began to improve signs and other basics such as painting more lanes on streets. (At the time, lines were only at the intersections.) He also added more one-way streets (an innovation in Baltimore that preceded him) while reversing some (Charles and St. Paul) to create better traffic flow.[14] Additionally, he replaced old traffic lights and added more at dozens of busy intersections. Barnes also greatly increased the use of phones and radios for dispatching work crews when, for example, a traffic light needed repair.

A longer-term project was a system that could monitor the timing of lights at the city's major intersections from a computer facility at the traffic bureau's headquarters on East Pratt Street. This took time, money, and the largest computer of its kind. Housed in sixteen steel cabinets, each about nine feet high by four feet wide and bristling with rows of lights, gauges, and switches, the computers—eight altogether—lined the side of the operations room like a phalanx of electronic warriors. (The down-sizing of computers was still a few decades away.) In the first phase, four hundred of the thousand or so intersections that had traffic lights were linked into the system.

The start-up, in December 1957, had all the extravagance of an opening night in Hollywood, with much advance publicity and a room full of reporters on hand to watch the mayor press the activating button.[15] Barnes always made effective use of the media to promote his traffic programs. The newspapers liked him for the colorful copy he provided, as did the local radio and television stations, where he was a frequent guest on news programs, with even a radio call-in show of his own in the early years—Friday nights on WBAL.

Barnes also met with civic groups of all kinds, from the high-powered downtown business organizations to informal neighborhood associations, from Kiwanis Clubs to the St. Thomas Holy Name Society and the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. In his first six months on the job he spoke to more than sixty different groups,[16] an impressive but not surprising figure, given his demand as a speaker. A born raconteur and a master at self-deprecating humor, Barnes saw these speaking engagements as an important way to sell his programs directly and to get the understanding and cooperation that was vital for success. "It is one thing to have a plan that will satisfactorily operate," he said. "It is another thing, however, to acquire public support for an idea. Without public support many excellent plans are predestined for the wastebasket."[17]

Barnes enjoyed playing the role of a maverick. When bureaucrats said he could only have painted walls in his office, Barnes picked wallpaper instead, with

antique autos as the design. (The bureaucrats fumed, but the auto wallpaper stayed up.)[18] Barnes was also something of showman out in his city-owned car, a black Buick, equipped with a two-way radio and recording equipment that Barnes used for dictating memos on street problems that needed fixing.[19] The trunk of the car had boots, broom, a shovel, and an array of tools so he could help his crews in an emergency. Barnes called the gear "symbolic as well practical," since it was infrequently used.[20] But it did reflect his "hands on" philosophy and close rapport with his crews, Barnes having done such work himself in earlier years.

Parking Issues

Parking was part of the traffic problem because curb space could be used for additional lanes of traffic. Barnes, faced with narrow streets and a growing volume of traffic, greatly increased the "no parking" restrictions downtown. More "No Parking" signs were also added to streets like St. Paul, Charles, and Calvert, which were used by commuters between downtown and suburban neighborhoods. Barnes also introduced parking meters to Baltimore. Merchants preferred them because they discouraged all-day parkers and made more spaces available for customers. City officials welcomed the extra income and the purchase terms: vendors usually provided the meters free, allowing the city to pay off the costs with the incoming revenue, so that the meters soon paid for themselves.

The gadgets had been first introduced in Oklahoma City in 1935 by Charlton C. Magee, a local entrepreneur who gained support by touting their virtues while wearing his other hat, that of newspaper editor. By the early 1950s, nearly every major city in the country except Baltimore had adopted meters. Even Baltimore County had them, with the first meters installed in Towson in July 1953.[21] Mayor D'Alesandro preferred his off-street parking program, which offered low-cost loans to help private operators buy properties and build garages.[22]

Not surprisingly, the garage operators opposed meters since they saw them as a competitive threat. Barnes kept clear of any battles with the off-street parking lobby. He stressed the revenue potential for the city, and hoped that it would go exclusively to fund traffic department needs. This unfortunately did not happen. Barnes finally won over D'Alesandro, and the first meters were installed in November 1955 in the city-owned parking lots along Light Street south of Pratt.

With the exception of commuter lots like the one on Light Street, meters at first were installed only on streets in outlying shopping districts, to assist those merchants. In downtown, the "no parking" policy prevailed, to keep traffic moving. Shoppers could use off-street parking, but the small merchants in particular felt it was a serious disadvantage not to have some parking in front of their stores at a time when they were seeing sales decline in the face of competition from shopping malls. Ernest White, the owner of the Marco Polo Shop, a jewelry store at 109 West Saratoga, complained to D'Alesandro in 1955. "As you may have no-

ticed," White said, "Charles street, one of the finest shopping streets in the country, is becoming a ghost street, with only a fraction of the foot traffic it used to have, and more and more stores vacant as the blight forces old stores out of business, or to move to the county with consequent loss of revenue to the City."[23] White urged the adoption of meters as a way of bringing back shoppers to downtown.

White and other businessmen petitioned for meters on the block, but no action was taken. A year later White complained again to the mayor about the lack of meters. He said Barnes seemed interested only in keeping traffic moving downtown. White's letter was forwarded to Barnes, who replied that it was "simple common sense" to see meters could not be put on that block of Saratoga because all lanes were needed for traffic and delivery trucks. As for White's criticism of fast-moving traffic, Barnes felt that was actually a help to merchants. "After all, if people cannot travel freely about the city, particularly in the downtown area, they will most certainly expand their shopping interest to the new centers being erected elsewhere."[24] White replied that "The expansion of shopping interest in the new centers has already taken place. Indeed my whole purpose in advocating easier parking is to stem this disastrous tide." In White's view, "parking meters would be an invitation to the Baltimoreans who now shop in the counties to return to the city."[25]

Truck Routes and Mass Transit

When Barnes arrived in Baltimore, the city had truck routes but without any police enforcement. Vehicles of all sizes were free to rumble through residential neighborhoods, like lower Roland Park along University Parkway near the Homewood campus of Johns Hopkins. In 1953, a homeowner told Barnes that a few years earlier the truck traffic on University Parkway had not been excessive, but now it was "almost unbearable because of the noise, dirt and vibration caused by the constant passing of heavily loaded trucks."[26] Barnes banned heavy trucks from University Parkway as he did for dozens of other residential neighborhoods around the city.

But where to put the trucks? Barnes found himself forced to use the main cross-town truck routes that already had heavy traffic. Not surprisingly, he got complaints, particularly from residents on North Avenue, which was the cross town truck route for Route 1, then the main interstate highway along the East Coast. They were especially unhappy because Barnes also gave North Avenue all the traffic from Route 40—another major highway—when he shifted it northward from its old Orleans-Franklin-Mulberry corridor, to ease traffic in midtown.

Within two weeks of the changeover on December 1, 1954, hundreds of North Avenue property owners had signed a petition complaining about the increased traffic. One of them was Morris L. Cooper, a pharmacist at Park and North Avenues, who blamed the trucks for all the damage in the neighborhood—cracked

plate glass windows in his store and in the Acme supermarket next door, as well as broken water mains and gas pipes. "Are you going to sacrifice our lives and property . . . just to satisfy the route of trucks?" he asked the mayor.[27]

Cooper may have exaggerated about some of the damage—city officials said there had been no problems with the water mains along North Avenue—but his unhappiness reflected the mood of residents in the public discussions that followed. Barnes stood by his decision. North Avenue had long been an interstate corridor, he said. At sixty feet, the roadway was also much wider than Orleans and the other streets on the previous through route for Route 40. Those streets averaged around thirty feet, which was very narrow for two-way truck traffic. Yes, North Avenue had many apartments over stores, but surveys by his department showed that the old Route 40 corridor had more row houses than stores, and as a result, more residences (1,719 to 1,325). What was he to do? "You can't get trucks through Baltimore without going by someone's house and the issue was simply of finding a route where the least damage was done," Barnes said.[28]

Reisterstown Road became a similar headache for Barnes when he made it the main truck route through northwest Baltimore. Like North Avenue, it had long been a commercial corridor, indeed even longer, Reisterstown Road having been a main road to Western Maryland and Pennsylvania since colonial days. Even so, the residents were unhappy with the extra traffic and growing number of accidents. A. Francis Ritota, the president of the Reisterstown Road Improvement Association, wanted the city to ban large trucks, but Barnes said that was not possible. The courts had ruled that any prohibition along those lines would violate interstate commerce statutes.

"There are no other routes available over which such traffic can be directed," Barnes told Ritota.[29] This was not altogether true, as he admitted to another Reisterstown Road area resident. Trucks could use Park Heights Avenue, but Barnes felt "it would bring the same complaints," and no good route was available to transfer the downtown truck traffic to Park Heights Avenue from Reisterstown Road.[30] A headache, to be sure. But at least there was a bright side, as Barnes pointed out. Much of the truck traffic would move to the Baltimore County beltway when that road was completed. The Jones Falls Expressway would also help relieve congestion by taking truck traffic off Reisterstown Road, and lighten commuter traffic as well.

Traffic congestion downtown was largely a result of too many people driving to work. But how to woo them back to mass transit? Barnes felt that speed was the most important factor. In a report for Mayor D'Alesandro in 1958, Barnes surveyed the possibilities. At an approximate forty miles an hour for rush hour speeds, monorail was certainly fast enough, but it was still in the experimental stages, no city yet having created a system extensive enough for commuting. (Seattle was then considering a short monorail line, which it later built, to connect its 1962

World Fair Grounds with downtown.)[31] Subways were just as fast as monorails, and they were a proven technology, but Barnes said they were too expensive for Baltimore in the absence of federal funding programs.

Barnes also rejected the use of light rail on existing rail rights-of-way because they did not go through the main residential districts in the suburbs. Parking space was also scant along those lines. This meant commuters would have to park their cars at a satellite lot and then get to the train station before heading downtown. This constituted an "interrupted ride" and was not popular, Barnes said.[32] Given the high cost of subways, in his view, the only practical solution was a system of roadways for high-speed buses. In the suburbs, these "busways" would rely on separate bus lanes in the median strip of expressways. Downtown, they would connect to elevated roadways. The downtown busways might run above a few main streets or over narrower alley streets, with one-lane operation that could be reversed as rush hours changed. In effect, he proposed a rapid transit system for buses at the speed of a monorail or subway, at much less cost.

The press was intrigued with the idea. An elevated busline, protected from the elements by a plastic canopy, might run down Howard Street, reminiscent of the old Guilford Avenue elevated.[33] But the busway died aborning, in large part because a new downtown bus terminal never materialized. It was to be part of the downtown Charles Center urban renewal project, with Trailways and Greyhound as major tenants providing the rental income to subsidize the local bus operation. Trailways, though, built its own terminal on Fayette Street, and Greyhound did not want to move to a new location. And so a Charles Center planning report in 1961 concluded that there were not enough local buses or passengers to justify "an elaborate and expensive underground terminal."[34]

What about streetcars? Not surprisingly, Barnes wanted to phase them out completely. The slow speed was just one of their liabilities. Unlike a bus, they had no maneuverability in traffic. Power failures or mechanical breakdowns left the cars immobilized in a single file. Routes could not be changed easily since that required laying more rails. (Buses only had to publish a new route map.) Streetcars were also expensive to purchase and maintain. The catalog of sins was thick from a traffic engineer's perspective. Streetcar buffs look back at earlier decades with nostalgia. But from an operational standpoint, particularly on new routes into expanding suburban districts where traffic might be light, the transit companies early on saw the virtues of buses. By 1929, in fact, there were nine bus lines in the city, among them one up Charles to University Parkway and another that went up Mount Royal from Charles to Druid Hill Park, and more of the same in the 1930s.

A dramatic reversal took place during the World War II years, with a great increase in streetcar riders. But gas and tire rationing were the reasons behind the surge, combined with the influx of industrial workers who used the streetcars. (Old streetcars were put back into service and new ones added. Streetcars, unlike autos,

had been kept in limited production.) After the war, when given a choice, riders preferred the new buses. They were faster, and air conditioning gave them a distinct advantage over streetcars in Baltimore's sticky summers. In October of 1946, the Public Service Commission approved plans to convert seventeen lines to buses, thus beginning the gradual phasing out of streetcars. In this, Baltimore followed the trend everywhere, as cities sought to retain passengers by offering a better ride and to save money by means of the more efficient operation that buses provided.

By the end of the 1950s, buses had replaced all except two of Baltimore's streetcar lines: the Number 8 that went between Catonsville and Towson via downtown, and the Number 15, which also went through downtown in an east-west direction between Belair Road and Garrison Boulevard. Both were a source of grief for Barnes because their tracks were on two of the busiest streets downtown—Fayette and Baltimore Streets— and the streetcars frequently caused traffic delays. They also went through Charles Center, which was then touting the accessibility it would offer commuters as well as parking amenities. (Big garages were planned under its plazas.) Fayette and Baltimore Streets were scheduled to become one-way to speed up traffic, but that was possible only when those streetcar lines were gone.

Unfortunately for Barnes, the city did not own the streetcars. Mass transit was in the hands of the Baltimore Transit Company (BTC), a privately owned corporation that was part of National City Lines, a big holding company that ran transit lines in Los Angeles, St. Louis, Miami, and many other cities—as many as forty-six lines in the late 1940s. Many have blamed National City Lines for the disappearance of the streetcar across the nation, claiming that it conspired with General Motors, the bus manufacturer. To be sure, National did have close ties with GM as a supplier, but the purchases were based more on imperatives of a changing market than they were on any enmity toward the streetcar.[35] Barnes has also been frequently blamed for having single-handedly ended the streetcar era in Baltimore, but the BTC replacement program in fact had been well underway before Barnes arrived. More than twenty lines were switched to buses before 1953 compared to six during Barnes's tenure.

A fondness for buses notwithstanding, the BTC was in no rush to convert the last two lines. They were making a profit, and it would cost over three million dollars to buy around one hundred new buses to replace the streetcars. All the cars on the lines were the big fifty-four-passenger Presidents Conference Cars (PCC), so-called because they were based on uniform standards established by the industry in the 1930s. The PCC cars were luxurious in comparison to earlier ones—they had good lighting and plenty of aisle space (but no air conditioning) and were popular with riders.[36] They were also of relatively recent vintage (built between 1939 and 1944), with many years left on their minimum service life of twenty-five years.

What would it take to get an agreement? The transit company wanted some

break in its taxes. Over the years, the city had not been shy in taxing streetcar lines. A park tax, for example, was something of a sales tax on each rider and dated from 1860 when streetcars had a big business hauling Baltimoreans to the city's parks. The park tax covered the costs of park maintenance until the Depression of the 1930s when the transit company saw its income drop. The city was forced to provide a public levy to help out, but it kept the bill on the books. With transit fiscal problems in the 1950s not unlike those in the 1930s, the BTC hoped for a change in the attitude toward taxes in City Hall. This finally happened in 1962 when tax breaks were included in an agreement for the BTC to phase out the streetcars. The last cars ran on November 3, 1963.

But during the D'Alesandro years, the BTC was unable to convince the mayor that the profit on the two streetcar lines—and the meager profit on the operation in general—was not enough to sustain the business. The company also pointed to the big decline in riders on all lines, down 40 percent between 1948 and 1956. In 1957 the mayor asked local business leaders to buy a controlling interest in the BTC. It was their duty, he told them, to put the transit operation in the hands of Baltimoreans. The businessmen respectfully felt otherwise. In their view, the cost was too high—no purchase price had been set, but the range was between eighteen and twenty-five million dollars—and the risk even greater in buying a utility in steep decline.

Miffed at what he considered a lack of civic spirit, the mayor then went to the state legislature with a proposal to float city bonds to buy the company. D'Alesandro managed to get approval from the House of Delegates, but the Senate had its doubts that the city had the financial resources to back the bond issue. Better to wait, its members said, for the Metropolitan Transit Authority (its 1961 title; the agency is now called the Mass Transit Administration), a new public agency then under discussion, to take over the company through a state buy-out. This the MTA eventually did after years of negotiation, with a purchase price of $11.1 million, in 1970.

D'Alesandro took the setbacks badly, public ownership having become a personal crusade for him. He went on television to castigate his critics and the transit company as well, which he called "one of the worst" in America.[37] In the end, the mayor had to settle for giving Barnes the new title of head of transit as well as traffic, in effect making him a watchdog over the BTC but with no new powers.

Dealing with the BTC turned out to be a less than pleasant assignment for Barnes; after all the brickbats from D'Alesandro, the BTC began throwing its own. It complained about D'Alesandro's off-street parking program. All those public dollars, it said, were being used to subsidize private garage owners and encourage more commuters to drive downtown. The BTC was losing rider revenue, and the increasing vehicular traffic made it difficult to maintain schedules for the buses and streetcars. As for the touted traffic improvements, the BTC said

they had done little more than hold the line. In April 1957 their figures showed that the average rush hour speed for BTC vehicles was eleven miles per hour, only a slight improvement over the 10.7 miles per hour averaged in November 1952.[38]

The BTC spokesman was Dale W. Barrett, the president of the transit company, who had worked for many years in Salt Lake City for the National City Lines before his transfer and promotion to the top job in Baltimore in 1955. He was a feisty adversary, who matched Barnes in his ability to use the media to advantage. In October 1957 Barrett cited five traffic tie-ups as typical of what the BTC faced. Barnes said the data was invalid and sent a copy of his reply to the paper. Barrett replied with a four-page letter, standing by the accuracy of his examples and listing sixteen more traffic delays affecting his equipment that had taken place in recent days. His argument for talking with the press was that "the public should be advised of the operating problems we encounter."[39]

The verbal arm-wrestling continued in December after a snowstorm immobilized many of the BTC's buses. Barnes said that the buses did not have the required tires. He would insist on chains if the company could not comply and ended with the comment that it was "rather interesting to note that while your system bogged down completely during this storm, all of my equipment—including trucks as well as passenger cars—negotiated through the city without any delay other than that caused by other vehicles being stalled in their path." Barrett replied that his tires did indeed meet the qualifications of "snow tread" and had been part of their service program since 1954. "Twelve snowstorms have hit Baltimore in subsequent years, and this was the first time the BTC has heard any complaint about its equipment." Barrett congratulated Barnes on the ease of movement of his vehicles, but they were not under the same constraints as those of the BTC. Had they been required to operate on established routes, and pick up and discharge passengers, and attempt to maintain a scheduled running time, Barrett said, "they would have found it as difficult as we did."[40] And so it went.

The Years after D'Alesandro

In March 1959 D'Alesandro was defeated in the Democratic primary in seeking his fourth term. In heavily Democratic Baltimore that turned out to be the final election result as well. Barnes's job was safe since he had been appointed in 1957 to a four-year term. The new mayor, J. Harold Grady, was cordial and respectful of Barnes's accomplishments, but the sense of loyalty and team spirit that had been a special part of the relationship with D'Alesandro was no longer there.

The difference was evident in an episode in 1960 when Grady opposed a jaywalking ordinance that Barnes had proposed. To be sure, D'Alesandro had not always agreed with Barnes, but he tended to settle matters in private, and early on, to minimize the hint of a divided administration. By contrast, Grady's style of decision-making was slow and methodical, like the FBI agent and state prosecu-

tor he had been earlier in his career. In this instance, he made up his mind after a hearing and report on the ordinance—and much debate in the press—all of which made Barnes's defeat more public.

Grady backed the police commissioner, who felt the force was not large enough to enforce all infractions, and the judges of the traffic court, who would handle all those cases.[41] The bar association in particular must have been pleased, or more specifically the committee that prepared the report on the ordinance. The majority were past or present judges on the traffic court. They had no love for Barnes, with whom they had feuded in the D'Alesandro years over the great increase in tickets they had to handle as a result of all the new parking regulations. It appears to be the premise of Mr. Barnes, the judges said, that "in the battle of rights between driver and pedestrian, the guilt is primarily on the pedestrian. We feel that this view is fallacious and unrealistic—the motor vehicle and not the pedestrian—is the dangerous instrumentality which must be the primary target of control."[42] Lost in all the rhetoric was the concern for pedestrian safety. But jaywalking ordinances were controversial then, and remain so today.

Barnes also found himself on the defensive over consulting work. In 1958, he and two departmental colleagues had founded the Traffic Devices Research Company, a modest weekend entrepreneurial outlet for Barnes's interest in traffic signal research and development that operated out of the basement of Barnes's home. In 1960 the *Baltimore News-American* ran a story that was less interested in entrepreneurship than it was in a possible conflict of interest. City Council president Philip H. Goodman, who had joined in the revolt against D'Alesandro, asked Mayor Grady to look into the matter.[43] Grady had the city solicitor's office do so, with an investigation that included a check of all the company's books and records.

The city solicitor, who was a new Grady appointee, completely exonerated Barnes, who had set up the company with the full knowledge of D'Alesandro and his city solicitor. There was no evidence of any conflict of interest or any impropriety, "legal or moral" he said. Grady acknowledged that no wrongdoing had been found. But he also noted that "the question of the advisability of a Department head associating himself in a business enterprise with employees under his supervision" was outside the scope of the city solicitor's investigation. Approving the firm was a policy issue that had been made by the previous administration, Grady said. He would abide by that, but he clearly had misgivings.[44]

Given all this, it is not surprising that Barnes's ardor for Baltimore began to cool. The following year New York City was looking for someone to head its traffic department and hired him. Mayor Robert F. Wagner said the city had been "determined to get the top traffic authority in the nation to carry out this demanding job, and we believe we have him in Barnes."[45] As D'Alesandro had done, Wagner assured Barnes a free hand to reorganize the department and a pledge of no political interference. Wagner also offered him a salary of $27,500, which was $5,000

more than the current traffic head was receiving. Barnes would also have a staff of 637 and a budget of $6.8 million compared to the staff of 210 and $1.8 million budget in Baltimore. Mayor Grady declined to match the salary, and Barnes left in January 1962 for New York, where he was just as controversial in implementing the same agenda he had in Baltimore before meeting an untimely death of a heart attack in 1968 at the age of sixty-one.[46]

What of his achievements in Baltimore? Critics tended to minimize them, pointing out that Barnes owed much to the growth of his department and budget during his years in office. All of which was true to some extent. Funding increased greatly during the D'Alesandro years in particular, in part as the result of the generous use of the gasoline tax. It was true, too, that Baltimore had been playing a game of "catch up" compared to other cities, given the scant resources it had allocated to traffic in earlier years. But D'Alesandro should be given credit for wanting a change, and Barnes for making it happen.

As *Sun* columnist Edgar L. Jones pointed out, Barnes took details seriously, as in the case of adding more lane lines everywhere. "There's more traffic control in a pail of paint than in almost anything else," Barnes said, in upping the gallons of paint used annually from two thousand to over fifteen thousand in order to move more traffic on existing streets. At the same time, Barnes was forever facing the headache of increasing volume as the Auto Age accelerated. During his years as traffic head, Barnes estimated that the number of vehicles on Baltimore's streets increased by 57 percent. But Barnes had gotten the traffic to move, and he made commuting for most citizens much faster. "After everything else is said of Mr. Barnes," Jones concluded, "that is his tribute."[47]

After the 1950s rail mass transit made a comeback of sorts, in the form of subways, thanks to funding from federal legislation such as the Urban Transportation Act of 1964. Baltimore eventually got a subway, or at least one line of the proposed system before the dollars ran out as the costs became too high. In recent years, the focus has been on light rail as a less expensive alternative. The bus remains the workhorse of the Baltimore transit system, but the majority of commuters still drive to work, in large part because so many jobs have moved to the suburban "edge cities" like Columbia, Owings Mills, Towson, and White Marsh, which, with the exception of Owings Mills, are not well served by mass transit. (Two of three commutes in the Baltimore metropolitan area are not from suburb to downtown but rather from suburb to suburb, as is the case elsewhere.)[48]

What of Barnes's legacy? This is more complicated to assess in the sense that cities no longer look at streets simply as traffic corridors. Cities were for people, said Jane Jacobs, William H. Whyte Jr., Lewis Mumford, and a host of other social critics in the 1960s and 1970s. They felt that all the traffic enhancements, from one-way streets to "No Parking" signs, took a toll on the quality of life in the neighborhoods.[49]

In 1980 Mayor William Donald Schaefer asked for the resignation of Hugo O. Liem, who had been traffic director for eleven years.[50] Liem had gotten himself frequently in hot water with community groups such as Streets for People over parking rights for residents; they wanted greater use of the curb space outside their homes. Liem was reluctant to grant that request. He looked at the prospect of all those parked cars from the perspective of a traffic engineer. Like the homeowners in Charles Village, Mount Vernon, and other neighborhoods that complained, Schaefer saw things differently. In a symbolic sense, that marked the end of an era.

NOTES

1. After grade school and some business school training, D'Alesandro went to work with a downtown insurance firm where he managed for many years to juggle a job as a broker with his interest in politics. In 1941 he started his own insurance company with Robert J. McCullough. They split up after D'Alesandro left City Hall and returned to the business.
2. The best reference for Barnes's early years is his autobiography, *The Man with the Red and Green Eyes* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, 1965). The Harvard Bureau of Street Traffic, which later moved to Yale and became the Bureau of Highway Traffic before closing its doors in the 1960s, was an early and influential training center for traffic engineers.
3. *Baltimore Sun,* March 11; *Baltimore Evening Sun,* April 8, May 22; *Baltimore Sun,* April 6, 1953.
4. Barnes, *Man with the Red and Green Eyes,* 109–16.
5. *Baltimore Sun,* October 24, 1953.
6. *Baltimore Evening Sun,* August 26, 1954.
7. Barnes in his autobiography (152) writes that he requested—and the Civic League delivered—200,000 signatures. The newspapers at the time, however, say the requested figure was 100,000. But after visiting the Flower Mart, Barnes felt the need for any petitions was premature. One member of the Civic League was quoted as having thrown her petition away after talking to Barnes, so confident was she that he would not change the site. *Baltimore Evening Sun,* May 12, 1954.
8. *Baltimore Evening Sun,* May 15, 1954.
9. *Baltimore Sun,* April 1, 1954.
10. Wolman to J. Joseph Curran, May 26, 1955 (copy) and memo from Wolman to D'Alesandro that was sent with letter; Barnes to Mrs. Walter D. Owens, June 3, 1955, Papers of Thomas A. D'Alesandro Jr., Baltimore City Archives, file 317 (1).
11. Quote from story in *Baltimore Evening Sun,* May 15, 1955, when the memorial was moved.
12. Paula Schuler to D'Alesandro, September 20, 1954; D'Alesandro to Schuler, September 22, 1954. D'Alesandro Papers, 316 (2).
13. Barnes, "Baltimore Traffic Study" (May 15, 1953), 6, 11. Mimeographed report in Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library.
14. *Baltimore Evening Sun,* March 22, 1954.
15. *Baltimore Sun,* December 24, 1957; John C. Schmidt, "Giving Baltimore Drivers the Green Light," *Sunday Sun Magazine,* April 20, 1958.
16. Department of Traffic Engineering, *Annual Report* (July 1953 to July 1954), 12–13.

17. Ibid.
18. *Baltimore Evening Sun,* June 11, 1954.
19. *Baltimore Sun,* July 16, 1953.
20. Barnes quote from his remarks in caption of photo of trunk and equipment in his autobiography (between 128–29).
21. *Jeffersonian* [Baltimore County Weekly], June 12, July 31, 1953.
22. W. G. Ewald, "Baltimore's Off-Street Parking Program," *Baltimore* [Magazine] May 1953. Reprint of article in the Greater Baltimore Committee Collection, series 5, box 34, in the archives at the Langsdale Library, University of Baltimore.
23. White to D'Alesandro, June 17, 1955, D'Alesandro Papers 317 (2).
24. Barnes to White, June 21, 1956, D'Alesandro Papers, 317 (3).
25. White to Barnes, June 26, 1956, D'Alesandro Papers, 317 (3).
26. Paul Mason to Barnes, August 18, 1953, D'Alesandro Papers, 316 (1).
27. Cooper to D'Alesandro, December 12, 1954, D'Alesandro Papers, 316 (2).
28. *Baltimore Evening Sun,* December 15, 1954.
29. Barnes to Ritota, October 10, 1955, D'Alesandro Papers, 317 (1).
30. Barnes to Samuel J. Schleisner, October 11, 1955, D'Alesandro Papers, 317 (1).
31. Barnes, "Rapid Transit Possibilities for the Baltimore Metropolitan Area" (November 1958), Section D, 1–3. Mimeographed report, D'Alesandro Papers, 55 (1).
32. Ibid., Section D, 8.
33. *Baltimore News-Post,* April 23,1958; *Baltimore Sun,* April 3, 1958.
34. Henry B. Cooper, "Present Status of Proposed Bus Terminal in Development Area #14 of Charles Center," (October 4, 1961), 2, series 6, box 17, Greater Baltimore Committee Collection.
35. The conspiracy theory was given credence by testimony at a congressional hearing in 1974. It was later shown to be inaccurate, as Scott L. Bottles notes in his account of the streetcar story in *Los Angeles and the Automobile: The Making of a Modern City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). Herbert H. Harwood recognized the problems streetcars faced in a changing era in *Baltimore and Its Streetcars: A Pictorial Review of the PostWar Years* (New York: Quadrant Press, 1984.)
36. It is still possible to take a ride on a lovingly preserved PCC car at the Baltimore Streetcar Museum on Falls Road in Baltimore. Michael J. Farrell, *The History of Baltimore's Streetcars* (Sykesville, Md.: Greenburg Publishing Company, 1992) is a useful reference.
37. "Television Address on WMAR-TV, April 5,1957," 1. D'Alesandro Papers, 315 (2).
38. "Summary of Statement of Dale W. Barrett, President, The Baltimore Transit Company, November 4, 1957," D'Alesandro Papers, 55 (1).
39. Barnes to Barrett, October 31, 1957; Barrett to Barnes, November 4, 1957, D'Alesandro Papers, 315 (2).
40. Barnes to Barrett, December 5, 1957; Barrett to Barnes, December 10, 1957, D'Alesandro Papers, 315 (2).
41. Grady to Barnes, May 26, 1960, Grady/Goodman Papers, 234, Baltimore City Archives.
42. "Report on Proposed Jaywalking Regulation," (May 3, 1960), 5, Grady/Goodman Papers, 234.
43. Goodman to Grady, June 7, 1960, Goodman/Grady Papers, 235 (1). 44. Draft of statement, July 7, 1960, Grady/Goodman Papers 235 (1).
45. *Baltimore Sun*, December 31, 1961.
46. *New York Times*, September 17, 1968.
47. *Baltimore Sun*, January 6, 1962.
48. In recent years, buses have accounted for approximately 75 percent of the Mass Transit

Administration's riders. The rest is divided among the Metro subway (13 percent), light rail (6 percent), and MARC rail (6 percent).

49. Jane Jacobs wrote the highly influential *The Death and Life of American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961). Some of her ideas were presented in an earlier book edited by William H. Whyte Jr., *The Exploding Metropolis* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958). A sampling of Lewis Mumford's views can be found in *The Highway and the City* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1963).

50. *Baltimore News-American*, January 20, 1980.

Comment

Mike McCarthy's untimely death this summer deprived Maryland history, and this journal, of an inquisitive, lively voice. Maryland's post–colonial history has rightly been called Baltimore-centric, and Mike's interest certainly was Baltimore, particularly its recent past. His articles in the *MdHM*—"Baltimore's Highway Wars Revisited"; "Renaissance Rivalry in Baltimore: One Charles center Versus One North Charles"—looked into that past, as did his book with Marion Warren, *The Living City: Baltimore's Charles Center and Inner Harbor Redevelopment.* His unfinished manuscript, "Winners and Losers," an account of various ideas in Baltimore's urban design that did and did not play out, would have been an engaging contribution to this city's modern history. Prior to his arrival here he compiled an extensive list of articles on aspects of Philadelphia history and published *Typhoid and the Politics of Public Health in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia* with the American Philosophical Society.

Mike's other contribution to history was humor. If scholarly writing is supposed to be ponderous, someone forgot to tell him. Beneath his prose is an undercurrent of wit that those of us who knew him will instantly recognize, and those who never met him will appreciate wherever it bubbles to the surface. Highway plans, construction, traffic, parks—all subjects that beckon as cures for insomnia—sprang to life in his hands. We can only wish that his career had not so suddenly come to an end. The very idea that the city of Baltimore is implementing a plan to coordinate its traffic signals, at a cost of $23 million, surely would have aroused a gleam in his eye, and it's anyone's guess where that might have led.

R.I.C.

Notices

Joseph L. Arnold Prize

Thanks to the generosity of Thomas C. and Nancy B. Martel, the Baltimore City Historical Society presents an annual Joseph L. Arnold Memorial Prize in the amount of $500 for the best writing on Baltimore's history.

Entries for 2005 should be unpublished manuscripts between fifteen and forty-five double-spaced pages in length. Entries should be attached to electronic mail in MS Word or PC convertible format. You may include your name on your entry with the assurance that it will be cut from the manuscript (so as to allow for anonymous review) before it is submitted for consideration by a panel of distinguished scholars. Send manuscripts to: baltimorehistory@law.umaryland.edu. All submissions are due by February 15, 2006.

Criteria for selection are: significance, originality, quality of research, and clarity of presentation. The winner will be announced in the Spring of 2006. The BCHS reserves the right to not award the prize. The winning entry will be considered for publication in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

We hope to attract widespread participation from everyone interested in the rich history of Baltimore including students and teachers, academics and non-academics. All entries are welcome before the February 15, 2006 deadline.

Address inquiries to the attention of baltimorehistory@law.umaryland.edu, and to Marie Schwartz of the University of Maryland School of Law at 410-706-3838.

MdHS Fall Public Programs

Fourth Annual Signature Lecture Series

"The American Armed Forces on D-Day"
Sunday, January 29, 2006, 1 P.M.

Join the MdHS for a stirring and insightful account of American armed forces during the invasion of Normandy. Joseph Balkoski, Command Historian for the Maryland National Guard and author of several books chronicling the experiences of American citizen-soldiers in the European theatre, will discuss his most recent work, *Utah Beach: The Amphibious Landing and Airborne Operations on D-Day, June 6, 1944* (Stackpole, 2005). Tickets are $10/MdHS Members, $15/non-members and can be purchased by calling 410-685-3750 ext. 321.

Examining the Past, Building the Future: An African American Genealogy Workshop at the Maryland Historical Society

Saturday, February 11, 9 A.M. to 12 noon

Explore the methods and resources for genealogical research on the African American family. Jerry Hynson, Vice President of the Baltimore African American History and Genealogy Society, will deliver an opening address followed by workshops led by himself and Dr. Beatriz Hardy, MdHS Deputy Director for the Library. Find out where to look for additional resources, how to use what you find, and how to organize your research. Join Mr. Hynson and Dr. Hardy for a continental breakfast at 8:30. Cost for the workshop and breakfast $25 for MdHS Members and $30 for Non-members. Admission also includes full-day MdHS Museum and Library admission and free parking at the MdHS. Advance registration required. Call 410-685-3750 ext. 321 for reservations and more information.

First Women: Power, Image, and Politics from Betty Ford to Laura Bush

Allida Black
Thursday, March 9, 7 P.M.

Although Eleanor Roosevelt and a few of her predecessors used their positions to advance political causes (and their husbands' legislative agendas), and despite the glamour of the Kennedys' "Camelot" and Lady Bird Johnson's shrewd advice in the Watergate era, the role of First Lady remained vaguely defined until the 1970s. Then political, social, and media forces combined to change that role in dramatic ways. Beginning with Betty Ford, presidents' wives took part in White House turf battles, jousted with an invigorated (and invasive) press corps, attempted to set policy, and confronted a nation conflicted over women's public lives and private responsibilities. The role would never be the same. Join Allida Black, project director of the Eleanor Roosevelt Papers at George Washington University, for an exciting discussion of the modern first lady. Tickets are $15 Non-member, $10 Members and can be purchased by calling the Box Office at 410-685-3750 ext. 321.

Maryland Day Celebration

Friday, March 24, 2006

Celebrate the anniversary of Maryland's founding with the MdHS and the Maryland Colonial Society. Ceremonies will begin with a wreath laying at 1 P.M. at the Cecilius Calvert statue at the Clarence Mitchell Courthouse. A 2 P.M. ceremony will follow at the MdHS, in which awards will be presented to the 2006 Marylander of the Year and the impressive MCS High School Maryland History Contest winners. In an exclusive preview, Mark Letzer, guest curator of *A Gardener's Tale: the 18th-CenturyWorld of Annapolis Silversmith William Faris*, will introduce the exhibit, to open that weekend. Enjoy a coffee & cookies reception immediately following. Program admission is $8 per person and includes admission to the MdHS Museum. Call 410-685-3750 ext. 321 for registration or more information.

Annual Pratt Street Riot Commemoration

Saturday, April 22, 11 A.M.

Commemorate the 145th anniversary of the first bloodshed of the Civil War at the Baltimore Civil War Museum's President Street Station, site of the Pratt Street Riots of 1861. Join the MdHS and the Friends of President Street Station for this special anniversary event. Retrace the route of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment as it attempted to make its way from President Street to Camden Station through a hostile mob of Southern sympathizers. Program is free with museum admission. Call the MdHS Box Office for more information at 410-685-3750 ext. 321.

Elegant Patterns in the Most Fashionable Taste: The Work of Eighteenth-Century American Silversmiths

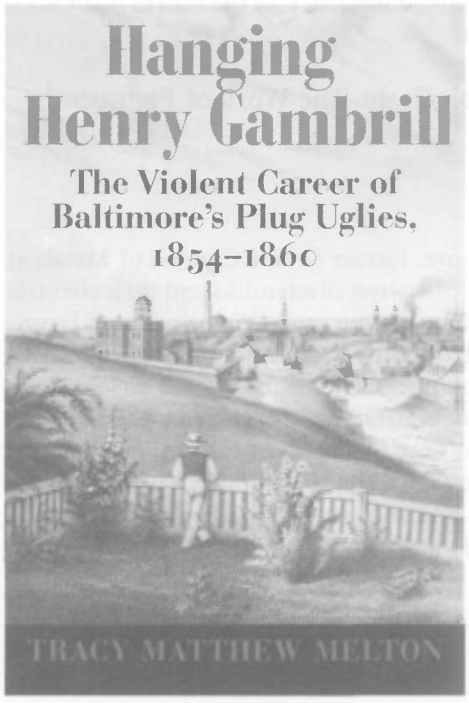
Don Fennimore
Sunday, May 7, 1 P.M.

In this illustrated presentation, Don Fennimore, former Senior Curator of Metals at Winterthur Museum, will explore the dynamic between silversmiths and their clientele that produced some of the most admired and sought-out arts of America's past. Fennimore will address the nature of the silversmith tradition in which the craftsmen learned their trade, worked and passed on to their apprentices. He will discuss the various styles that silversmiths created to make their products attractive and current, as well as the working techniques they employed. Find out how their range of wares, from simple and functional to elaborate and ceremonial, established the significance of silver in the lives of 18th-century Americans. Tickets are $15 Non-member, $10 Members and can be purchased by calling the Box Office at 410-685-3750 ext. 321.

Remember the good old days . . . ?

". . . a gothic host swarmed through the city. Monstrous shadows created by paraded transparencies and a hauled forge danced and flickered ominously across brick and wood facades along the darkened streets. Booming cannons and hammered metal shattered the night quiet. Men shouted and called. The American clubs were marching.

They entered the square . . . , setting off a thunderous display. Rockets and fireworks streaked into the night sky and exploded. Cannons belched flame and clouds of sulfurous smoke, while a band roused Americans on the ground. The Tigers manned a fully-rigged miniature ship. The Mount Clare Club from the Eighteenth Ward hauled their wheeled forge at which members made awls to distribute among the crowd."



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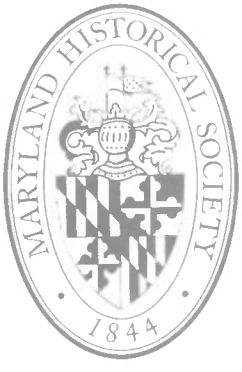

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